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THE QUEEN
v
PARNELL, Etc.

SPEECH
OF
Mr. SERGEANT HERON, Q.C.

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AND OTHERS.

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JANUARY 13TH AND 14TH, 1881.

[MR. SERGEANT HERON REPLIED FOR THE CROWN.]

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Mr. Sergeant HERON replied for the Crown. He said—May it please your lordships, Gentlemen of the jury, it is now my duty to reply on behalf of the Crown, and I bespeak your patient and earnest attention while I respectfully call your attention to the issues you have to try. And before I speak upon the case, I may congratulate my friend, my esteemed friend, Mr. Macdonogh, that although at one time we were afraid he might not be present at the trial—we find him continuing, I may say, to the end in renovated health and strength, and displaying all his wonderful abilities. In him, we, the bar of Ireland, cheerfully recognize

“Genius high and lore profound,
And wit that loves to play, not wound.”

I congratulate my learned and esteemed friend, I will not say my old friend, upon his restoration to health—to perfect health—for in every field the warrior still campaigns it not without glory. Gentlemen of the jury, let me recall your attention, after the numerous and able speeches you have heard, to the issues you have to try. The defendants, if I may use the familiar terms, are indicted for a conspiracy, and the details of the conspiracy are spread over several counts in the information. If I may run rapidly through them, it charges them with this—that they did conspire and solicit tenants in breach of their contracts, not to pay rents; that they did conspire and solicit tenants to combine to reduce their rents; that they did threaten to exclude from social intercourse, and did combine to deter tenants from paying their rents; and that they did, by threats of violence, combine to deter tenants from paying their rents. Gentlemen of the jury, the short way to express the statement of the offences charged in the earlier counts of the indictment is this—that they did combine to effect a strike against rents by unlawful means. I tell you, under the correction of this Court, that a strike against rents, and a combination for a strike against rents, is an illegal conspiracy. And after recalling your attention to the evidence, I will

say, if you believe the defendants and each of the defendants, convict them—acquit them if you can. Gentlemen of the jury, the origin of this movement is plainly with three men, whose names have not during the speeches on behalf of the defendants been so prominently brought before you as they ought to have been—Michael Davitt, the head of the movement in Ireland, John Devoy in America, and Matthew Harris. These men boast, and not unreasonably, to represent the Nationalists in Ireland, and those who correspond with them from America. Two of these men have given the most convincing proofs of their devotion to the country and their zeal for its independence—they have risked their lives and spent the best years of their lives in a dungeon. No matter how much you may differ from them in opinion, you cannot help regarding with some degree of respect the man who risks his life for his country's independence, and has suffered a felon's doom. Gentlemen, the unlawful means charged are several—threats of violence, threats of social excommunication, reduced finally to that system of "Boycotting" which prevails in the north, south, east, and west. Gentlemen, it was said in some of the speeches that in none of the rules of the Land League, in nothing signed by the executive or by the secretaries, was that system even indirectly shadowed forth. It was said that this system originated in a spontaneous impulse through the country, or in what has been described as the wild talk of persons for whom the leaders were not responsible. In the charter of the Land League as it was called, in the original document printed by Alley and Co., printers, 9 Ryder's-row, Dublin, and signed by A. J. Kettle, Michael Davitt, and Thomas Brennan, hon. secretaries, I find "No. 12—No man taking a farm from which another has been evicted for nonpayment of unjust rent should be allowed to become a member of any branch of the Land League." "No. 13—Any member of a branch association bidding for or occupying a farm from which a member or non-member has been evicted, or, who shall rent land which a member or non-member may have surrendered on grounds of excessive rent, or upon a refusal of a fair reduction of a rack-rent, shall be expelled the branch for such action, and he should be looked upon and shunned as a traitor to the interests of his fellow tenant-farmers and an enemy to the welfare of his country." "No. 14—No man assisting to serve processes of ejection, or taking part in an eviction, or purchasing stock or produce seized for nonpayment of a rack-rent to be allowed the membership of any branch or association. Any member of a branch proved guilty of any of the foregoing acts to be at once expelled, and denounced for his action." Was that in the original formation of the Land League? In the issuing of these rules by thousands to the branches through the country this policy of social excommunication was originally shadowed forth, and was consistently and unsparingly persevered in. But this is said to be constitutional agitation. But Devoy in New York—John Devoy—who suffered for his country; Michael Davitt, whose ability in this

organization must be recognized ; and Matthew Harris, sneered at constitutional agitation. In a letter from New York of the 18th June, 1880, this is what Mr. Devoy says :—“ While on this subject of ‘ oath breaking,’ permit me to set myself right with regard to a rumour that has recently been circulated about me. Although of a personal nature, it has also a political bearing, and, I believe, was started with a view to create some disturbance in a certain rather numerous section of the Irish National party. I find the following paragraph in several of the ‘ Irish ’ papers recently come to hand :—‘ Mr. John Devoy, one of the authors of the ‘ new departure ’ in Irish politics, in which the alliance between the Fenians and the Parnellites was proposed, will, it is stated, become a candidate for the Co. Tipperary, in room of Mr. P. J. Smyth.’ This statement is sheer nonsense, and I think I am justified in believing it had its origin in malice. I would not enter the British Parliament if by any chance elected. I would not under any circumstances take an oath of allegiance to the Queen (or King) of England, and I entirely disapprove of Nationalists of my opinions and connexions doing so.” What is that ? There is an honest independence. There is the statement of what the man thought and believes. There he is in America, organizing and planning, looking with contempt on constitutional agitators here, or those who believe they are such, as we are told they are in this Court of Queen’s Bench. He goes on—“ This twaddle about ‘ constitutional agitation ’ is an element of disturbance in Irish politics which cannot be ignored, because it is associated with the names of a few men of respectable character and standing in the National movement, but who really stand almost alone in their opposition to ‘ agitation.’ It is an evidence of the difficulty of doing any real good for Ireland while vituperation takes the place of argument, and while the best energies of each little clique or party are devoted to foiling the schemes of some other set of people and preventing anything from being done in the country that is not acceptable to themselves. The worst of all this is that the public mind is misled as to the real attitude of a large section of the National party, and the mouthings of every driveller who has learned a few phrases by rote are given a certain political significance.” Gentlemen, that letter of John Devoy’s states the real character of this agitation, so far as it is supported by the Nationalists of Ireland—the men who look forward to the independence of their country, the men who, to use their own words, are watching the hour of England’s weakness and Ireland’s opportunity. Whatever strength this land agitation has is derived from their zealous and unfailing support. Mr. Devoy proceeds, in conclusion, to say that the assertions that peasant proprietorship, that fixity of tenure, that free sale—that any of these measures would render the country happy and prosperous and contented under English rule would be perfectly absurd. He then says :—“ He is no friend of Ireland who, even for a fancied or temporary gain to the national cause, would suppress liberty of speech or interfere with the right of public meeting. Some gentlemen, of rather Conservative ten-

dencies, advocate a tenant proprietary, on the ground that it would tend to make the agricultural population Conservative. These gentlemen have just as good a right to believe that such a settlement of the land question would make fat, contented subjects of Queen Victoria of the Irish farmers, as I have to hope that, with increased prosperity and independence, they would become more sturdier and stiff-necked, and resent more strenuously than now the assumption of England of the right to rule Ireland." Gentlemen, I said this movement was derived from three men I name again John Devoy, in America; Michael Davitt, here in Dublin; and his strenuous and able and active supporter, Matthew Harris. It will be my duty afterwards to refer to a few of the statements they made at the great meetings they organized to accomplish what is stated in that able letter of John Devoy. Gentlemen, I have stated one object—I will not say of this conspiracy—another object is plainly shown by these acts. There is another matter—another important document as regards the Phoenix Park meeting—and it shows another character of this movement. The gallant rebels of '98 were Christians. The United Irishmen fought at Ballynahinch. The rebels rose in Wexford—they fought with their priests at their head. No man can deny the valour with which they fought, or the gallantry with which they struggled against overwhelming odds. There is no more affecting picture in Irish history than the wounded rebel at Oulart or New Ross dying of his wounds on the field of battle, and with his last breath kissing the crucifix held to his lips by the wounded priest. It has been reserved for modern Socialism to introduce into Western Europe, along with every seditious movement, a most diabolical and obscene blasphemy. And you saw how, for two long hours, in reference to the Phoenix Park meeting, the learned and skilful leader beside me, and his able lieutenants acting under his guidance, sought to exclude the infamous document called Paudheen O'Rafferty's Commandments, which were circulated here to the honest artizans of Dublin. It was said they were never recognized by the leaders of the movement. At Abbeyknockmoy, one of the traversers twice alluded to the document, twice recommended the people to read it—twice, in the presence of four priests, as he said. Gentlemen, the whole of the Divine law is in almost two lines—"Fear God," and "Keep His Commandments." The whole fabric of Christian society would vanish from Western Europe if these blasphemies are allowed to defile the Word of God. One extract from this document I shall read, because it is repeated over and over again—the sentiments expressed by it—in some thirty or forty speeches with marvellous unanimity. After saying in blasphemy of the Commandments—"I am the Landlord, thy Master, who paternally condescends to take charge of thy earnings in the shape of rent." No. 7 says—"Thou shalt not violate the great moral law upon my estate, which forbids the marriage of thy sons or daughters, particularly thy daughters, until myself or my agent shall first satisfy ourselves that such a step is agreeable or beneficial to myself or my agent." You see what is

intended by the infamous slander repeated by Harris against Mr. Blake, agent of Lord Clanricarde, and other agents in the West of Ireland, and in his denunciation of those gentlemen—the Galway landlords? “No. 8—Thou shalt not steal an idle moment, neither shall thy children, from the blessed occupation of labour in my service, to indulge in the worldly pleasures of reading books or newspapers, or to listen to immoral teachings against my sacred prerogative as thy lord and master.” And then in a commentary upon them, this Paudheen O’Rafferty says—“To crush the industrious and monopolise wealth, power, pleasure, and honour in this life, the privileged, though idle and morally worthless few, are allowed by passive millions to act as follows:—To govern in every land and make laws for every people—but themselves—to keep. Armies are organized and officered to conquer and keep under the people who work. Policemen are to watch, judges to try, and prisons to keep, the toilers who have to support them. A society is empowered to look upon work as menial and degrading, and upon idleness and fashion as ennobling and grand. And finally, religion is expected to preach doctrines to the people which make slavery and poverty the chief ends of life, and cowardice and submission to every wrong a passport to everlasting happiness.” What is that but an expansion of the Communist and Nihilist cry, “Down with kings, priests, and judges.” Gentlemen of the jury, the first important meeting in the Phoenix Park went on. But before I go into details of that meeting, and what became of it, a third great pamphlet upon these passing events is, “Matthew Harris upon the Political Situation.” The following letter has appeared in the *Irishman*:—“Ballinasloe, June 19th, 1880. . . . “No doubt it is well to remind Irishmen, even in these dark times, that they have a higher, a holier work before them than the work of land reform. To warn our countrymen that while raising their voices against the rent tax, as America raised her voice against the tea tax, they should join with that voice, as the Americans did, a demand for National Independence.” “From the first landing of the English our struggle with them has been agrarian as well as National. English kings and Irish kings, English barons and Irish chieftains, English churchmen and Irish Churchmen, fought, no doubt for the glory of being supreme; but they also fought for possession of the land, just as the Anglicised landlord and the Irish peasant are fighting for it to-day.” Accordingly, gentlemen, a meeting took place—an organized meeting took place in the Phoenix Park on the 14th March, and was reported in the *Nation* of the 20th March. Messrs. Davitt, Brennan, Biggar, and Ferguson were there; Mr. Sexton was also there. Mr. J. W. Walsh, of Balla, was there, and a resolution was passed at that meeting, the whole of which I will not read again—“Whereas the institution of Irish landlordism has had its origin in the subjugation of our country and the confiscation of its soil to adventurers and enemies of the people who owned it; and whereas this great national wrong has impoverished our land by restricting its proper culti-

vation, and pauperised our agricultural classes by imposing a tax upon their industry in the form of unjust and exorbitant rents ; and whereas the agrarian crime which has disturbed the peace of our country is a consequence of the said spoliation and a result of the system of land monopoly which followed therefrom : be it therefore resolved that the prosperity and contentment of Ireland imperatively demand the speedy and final abolition of Irish landlordism." Mr. Davitt spoke at that meeting. He said "The resolution was one which must commend itself to them. The man who cultivated the soil was the man who should own it, and the time has arrived when the tiller of the soil, as he struck his spade in the earth, looked towards Heaven, and asked for whom the land was made. He might be reminded that the British Government had given it to the British garrison in Ireland ; but the law of God was higher than any such enactment of man's, and the law of God intended that the soil should be owned by the people of the country (hear, hear). With these remarks against the accursed institution which now, for the fourth time, had placed Ireland before the nations as a mendicant, he asked them to endorse the motto upon the banner which was fluttering opposite to him—that the land of Ireland, being created by God Almighty for the people of Ireland, to the people of Ireland, and not to the idle, sensual landlords, the land of Ireland should belong." And in moving a vote of thanks to the chair, Mr. Davitt said they had entered the Phoenix Park without having had the trouble of pulling down the gates, as they had intended to do if it were necessary. Mr. Kettle having replied, the meeting dispersed in an orderly manner. Gentlemen of the jury, that meeting of the organization struck as it were the key-note of the alarm to the country. It is said that we did not give enough of proof of meetings, and one of the learned counsel said that one hundred provincial meetings had been proved but that six times that number had been held. The proofs of the vast organization are in my hand as regards the number of meetings. Mr. Biggar attended ten ; Mr. Boyton attended twenty-two in the country ; Mr. Brennan attended thirteen ; Mr. John Dillon attended fifteen ; Mr. Patrick Egan attended only one ; Mr. Gordon attended only twelve ; Mr. Harris attended eleven ; Mr. Nally attended fifteen ; Mr. O'Sullivan attended fourteen ; Mr. Parnell attended eleven ; Mr. Sexton attended eight ; Mr. Sheridan fifteen, Mr. Sullivan attended six, and Mr. Walsh thirteen. That is according to the evidence ; according to the statement there were six times that number held. Gentlemen of the jury, what were the topics at those meetings ? What was the wild language used—said to be "wild" ? You will find it in the rules of the Land League, and you will find a large portion of it in "Paudeen O'Rafferty's Commandments." What does Mr. Sheridan say at Keadue ?—"If such another course as this be attempted by any officer of the law, let your arrangements be :—Away to the chapel bells and church bells when the eviction is to take place ; let there be horns in every parish ; let men and women assemble there and keep the people in their homesteads." What does

Mr. Dillon say—"We must see that no man or woman is put out of their farm; that no evictions shall take place in Kildare." What does Walsh say? "Whenever a tenant is evicted, you should go in a body to the landlord, and say—'We will not pay you one penny rent until you reinstate that man.'" What does Mr. O'Sullivan say—"You are assembled here with a firm determination that no eviction shall take place on the plains of Boyle again." What does Walsh say again—"If the tenant is evicted, the people should form in military procession and march to the landlord's door, and tell him they would not pay one penny of rent until he had been reinstated." What does Gordon say—"I ask you to proclaim before the world, and before the eye of the Government, that you will keep a firm grip on the harvest, and resist the land-robber. The law says you are to protect yourselves from the night robber, and I fail to see any difference between the night robber and the land robber." Mr. Walsh says—"Let no man give up possession, if there is stronger power to put him out, he knows one way to get in." Mr. Gordon says—"Don't think of leaving your cabins, except at the point of the bayonet." Mr. Harris says, at Loughglynn—"This I call my home. I stand here like a man to defend this home of mine, and these children of mine, and woe be to the tyrant who dares come and disturb me." What does Mr. Boyton say at Miltown—"If you enable us to carry out these objects we will leave the property of landlords so worthless that the landlords will leave it to you." Mr. Brennan says—"We must enter into a holy conspiracy against them." Mr. O'Sullivan says "Stick to each other. If you be true to each other landlordism must starve in this country." Mr. O'Sullivan says—"You are assembled to bring that power to its knees; ay, and to strangle it there." Mr. Boyton says—"We ask you to work within the law, but within the law we can point you out a way that will bring these men to the earth, and when they are there crush the life out of them for ever." That is the Ballingarry meeting—"We propose to withdraw from these men the means whereby they live in luxury and infamy." Mr. Dillon makes a similar speech at Clonmel. And during the whole of this time Mr. Sullivan in the *Nation*, in a very skilful manner is referring to the meetings which are taking place, and carefully and quietly, and with great power assisting in the work which is going on. In the *Nation* of the 24th July Mr. Sullivan publishes this. "The proceedings in the Landed Estates Court show that the market for landed property is still in a falling condition, few or no sales being effected, and in some cases no purchasers at all putting in an appearance. A notable event in that connection took place in Kerry on Saturday. The interest in a farm near Killarney was put up for sale in the court-house, when the tenant, against whom a decree for possession for non-payment of rent had been obtained, cautioned anyone against bidding, as he had tendered the rent to the landlord. The result was that none of the numerous farmers present offered a penny, and the sale was adjourned, the tenant being made the object of public congratulations." In that remarkable account of the demonstration at Barntown in the

Nation of the 9th of October he says —“ A meeting was held in Barn-town on Sunday for the purpose of inaugurating a branch of the Land League. There were between 5,000 and 6,000 persons present. The Barntown, Bree, Johnstown, and the St. John's Independent Bands attended. Opposite to the speakers on a pole was the effigy of a man with a pair of boot lasts hung round his neck. This was intended to represent a man who had purchased some land lately from which the former tenant had been ejected. At the close of the meeting the effigy was 'shot' and then set fire to.” Gentlemen of the jury, we know from history, (the people well understand, although they may not know the origin of the burning of an effigy), that when the Inquisition in Spain had power, and when sentence was passed against a man out of the country, the sentence by which his life was forfeited and his lands confiscated, was not carried out until an image of the absent person was burned in effigy ; and accordingly a burning in effigy has been ever since, as it were, regarded as a sentence of death passed against the person so treated in effigy. This was published on the 9th October by the *Nation* with every demonstration—at all events, certainly not of disapproval—both as regards the burning in effigy and the social excommunication. Well, it was stated by counsel for Mr. Sullivan that there was nothing against him as regards the practice of social excommunication. But in the *Nation* of the 16th October I find —“ The work of socially excommunicating persons who take evicted tenants' farms is being carried on with great thoroughness and success in various parts of the country. Thus in Limerick a few days ago a farmer who had sinned in the way referred to offered for sale in the market some butter and oats, but both merchants and brokers refused to transact any business with him. The consequence was that he had to bring his produce home, and on leaving the market he was groaned and hooted by a large crowd of farmers. We believe it is the same farmer who went to buy some bacon in Limerick, and when he told his name failed to induce the bacon merchants to sell him anything whatever. In Clare, again, a farmer has been made, for the same causes, such an outcast among his neighbours—they refusing to hold any intercourse with him or sell him the necessaries of life, and even going so far as to keep him out of the parish chapel on Sundays—that he has found his new position intolerable, and surrendered to the landlord the banned farm on which he cast his eyes in an unhappy moment. Comment is needless.” Gentlemen, how did the constitutional agitation proceed? Again I say, from their own lips only I ask you to condemn them, and if you believe them to be honest men, expressing what they thought, convict them, and acquit them if you can. Mr. Boyton says at Newtown—“ For the first time in history the people of Ireland are making an effort to stand on the soil that God created and blessed—a land consecrated by the footsteps and the graves of thousands of saints (cheers). A land that has shed its blood again and again in abortive attempts to rescue itself from the infamous touch of the vilest Govern

ment that ever cursed the earth." Mr. Gordon, at Shrute, says:—"O'Connell once said that the land of Ireland would be dearly bought at one drop of blood, but I differ from him. It is better for you to lose your blood as Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien did, and we are determined to do the same." Mr. Nally, at Balla, says, "I say you must organize and establish a branch of the Land League. There has been more good done since this day week,—there has been a landlord shot in Ballinrobe (cheers). You all can have rifles now, and any of you who are not able to buy a rifle (cheers) or gun, have the pitchfork in your hand." Mr. Sheridan, at Lackagh, says, "Fellow-countrymen, I feel proud at seeing you assembled here to-day in your thousands, we must assert our rights, and if we do not get them through our Members of Parliament, I would ask you then to ring out your voices through the muzzles of 'Minie' rifles as well as from those platforms." If he meant the rifles to be directed against the landlords, it is murder; otherwise it is high treason. You are asked to say that this is kept up by an organization, holding meetings in different parts of the country, by the various speakers; and you are asked to believe those men, and to say that this is a constitutional agitation. Again, I say, convict them if you believe them; and acquit them if you can. What does Mr. Brennan say—Mr. Brennan, at Keadue:—"Yes. We did use seditious language against the power of landlordism, which has so long crushed the people—(groans)—and, please God, we will continue to use seditious language and be guilty of seditious acts against the system that degrades labour and ennobles idleness—(hear, hear)—until that sedition against landlordism shall ripen into revolution against landlordism, and the whole infernal system go down before the might of Ireland's awakened manhood." And Boyton, referring to one of the watchwords of the organization—"Spread the Light." "Hold the harvest. "Keep a grip of your homesteads"—in the south of Ireland, says:—"So soon as these meetings, instead of a disorganized, present a firm, determined, and enthusiastic crowd, so soon as we can march four deep one mile of a column of earnest, honest, determined young men, stepping along the road—not drilling—marching to those meetings, we will begin then to show our teeth." Then, I say, if you believe them, they meant something by that. Gordon says:—"I do not fall out with the man who says that the best way to get shut of that cursed system in Ireland is at the point of the bayonet. I tell you here to-day that if he be prepared to carry it out at the point of the bayonet I am prepared to follow him." Boyton again says at Cahir—"And when you are able to achieve your social independence, we may from the rank and file of 250,000 Land Leaguers select an Irish national guard that with the weapon of freemen slung on their arm, the rifle, that they may take the place of that organization, that 100 years ago gave Ireland a glimpse of liberty." And Gordon says, at Abbeyknockmoy—"And until Ireland is proclaimed a nation I

shall work by day and I shall write by night, ay, and I shall plot by night until Ireland is a nation. Don't rest contented slaves by the fire-side. Wherever you know there is a newspaper to be read, wherever you see that Paudeen O'Rafferty's commandments are read let ye go there and listen to every word and go home. England is here only as a robber. I don't come to meetings for the purpose of being on the platform, but I come here to give a helping hand to proclaim before God on high that this land is ours, and if we cannot get it peaceably, to fight at our own doors for it." And then there is loud cheering. Are the leaders less outspoken. I mean the men who might be called great leaders of the movement—those in Parliament, like Parnell and Dillon—I do not use the word Mr., I refer to them just the same as I refer to O'Connell or any other great public man—Parnell and Dillon:—"The people of Ireland are to-day engaged in a great struggle, a struggle for the land of their country which was wrested from them seven centuries ago by force of arms. We believe that we shall, in the course of a short period, obtain that restitution of the land of this country; better for them to come forward now and to offer fair terms to the Irish tenants, for I tell them that if they do not, we shall soon be in the position of victors, and shall be able to dictate our own terms." At Clerhaun, Nally says—"When we get fellows amongst us like the seven brothers we can smash them. But keep together, keep strong; dynamite and gun-cotton will scatter them to pieces." It is well to use these expressions with a light heart; but such a thing occurred as the Clerkenwell explosion. And the other day in Manchester when the explosion took place in the Barracks, I would like to know whether the relatives of the man murdered by that explosion, whether they are of opinion that Nally was serious or not in saying that dynamite and gun-cotton would scatter them to pieces? Brennan says, "Of ('65). Yes, cheers for the men of '65, for were it not for the men of '65 and '67 we would have no national opinion in Ireland to-day." This was after the murder of Lord Mountmorres. "When these men were cast into prison the predecessor of this high ecclesiastic came forward with another manifesto." The high ecclesiastic he referred to was Dr. McCabe—"And without a particle of evidence charged these pure-minded men, charged these pure-minded men with the darkest of crimes (cries of 'he was a Government hack, and to hell with him).'" This is the way that, under the guidance of the leader of this movement, the name of the Cardinal and the name of the Archbishop, and the names, as I will show you afterwards, of any priest who does not dare to join this movement, are referred to by these persons going through the country, and driving the minds of the excitable people to madness. "Away with them," they say, "to hell with them." This is the teaching for which the leaders of this movement are responsible. This is what we are coming to. Now, is not the veil taken off altogether? Priests and people,

"Behold your guide, your star;
You would be dupes, and victims, and you are."

Dillon says at Holyford, county Tipperary—"To-day, fifteen meetings, each larger than this, are assembling in twelve Irish counties, and a hundred thousand Irishmen are to-day assembled on the plains of Ireland to declare that landlordism must go down in Ireland if you are a united and determined people (cheers). This is a cause which every Irishman can go into, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, whether he be a Nationalist or not. It is a cause which the Irish Nationalists can go into, because its object is to break down and defeat the English garrison which holds this country for England. Its object is to clear the path for Irish Nationality, by emancipating all the people of Ireland from the control of English landlordism, and settling them in their own homes as free men." Brennan says, at Ballinlough—"I don't advise you to offer any open resistance to the law, simply because I believe you would not be able to defeat it. I believe there is nothing wrong in guarding your own lives and your property; and if I don't advise open resistance to acts of tyranny, it is not because I see very much wrong in it, but because I know it is not advisable. Swear before high heaven, that the land that was created for your use that you are determined to fight for it." Gentlemen of the jury, what attempt is made to answer these speeches made to the public which I have partially opened to you? Many speeches—able speeches—were made on behalf of the defendants, dealing in generalities only. My learned and able friend Mr. Curran made a speech for Gordon, Harris, and Nally, and stated that he would go through some of the evidence, as, following his experienced leaders, he had been instructed to do. He spoke in particular in reference to Mr. Nally. He said he was counsel for Nally, and made one of the most singular statements that I read from the report, probably, that ever was made by counsel in a court of justice. My learned and able friend who appeared on behalf of Nally had one of the most extraordinary parts to play in appearing on behalf of these three gentlemen—Gordon, Walsh, and Nally—who made some of the strongest speeches, probably, that ever were given to an advocate to defend, and my learned friend accepted the position, and discharged his duty gallantly, and in a way worthy of the name which he bears—the name of the greatest orator we ever produced at the Bar. And he says, when speaking about Nally :—"But there is something peculiar about the case of Nally here. It was all very well to treat it in a jocose manner in the cross-examination, and although I treated it in that way I did not feel that it was a subject for merriment. There is something peculiar about the country, for so long, making speeches which were reported to the Government, and that there was no stop put to it. There is something peculiar about the fact that he is a man easily affected by drink, and yet that we find him from time to time supplied by the policemen with drink before he went to the meetings. Just reflect upon these facts, gentlemen of the jury. They ask me that question, and I cannot but wonder whether such things could be. Stringer reported him, gave him drink, and took drink from him.

" Every man of them except one—one man proved the rule by the
 " exception, as he said himself ; this man was the only man who did not
 " do it—every constable who came here to prove the speeches of Mr.
 " Nally had either given drink to him or taken drink from him.
 " And Nally was a man known to all to be easily excited by drink.
 " If the Government believed that Nally was in earnest, why did they
 " not stop him long since ? I asked one constable how soon—after one
 " terrible speech had been delivered by Nally—how soon afterwards he
 " had sent the report up to Dublin, and he said that he had sent it be-
 " tween two and three days afterwards. The Government of the day—
 " a Conservative Government—had these speeches, and so had the Go-
 " vernment that succeeded it, and it has been using these speeches for the
 " purpose of crushing this agitation—they had these speeches reported to
 " them within, at all events, a week after the meetings, and when the late
 " Government arrested Messrs. Brennan and Davitt, why did they not also
 " arrest Nally ? " Because," counsel says, " Nally was nothing better than
 " a drunken fool going about from meeting to meeting, speaking here and
 " speaking there. Was that not the reason why Nally escaped so long ?
 " Was that not the reason why they did not believe or pay attention to
 " what he said at these meetings ? Why they were aware that he was a
 " drunken fellow, because the Attorney-General put this question to one
 " of the witnesses,"—I believe it was I asked the question, for I examined
 the witness—' Was Nally drunk at this meeting ? ' ' He was,' the
 witness said. " After all, I think it was not fair that the Right Hon. the
 " Attorney-General, representing Her Majesty's Government, should
 " charge my clients with being conspirators with Nally, to say that they
 " conspired with him to achieve their objects by the means of murder ;
 " because that was said over and over again. I say it was not fair
 " —and I cannot throw dirt in the teeth of the Government—to press
 " so infamous a charge. It was not fair to watch Nally going from
 " meeting to meeting, letting him go on and, I say, directly encouraging
 " him—for the police did encourage him—to encourage him in making
 " the observations he made. The police gave him drink"—that is not
 correct—" and then took down his words and sent them to the
 " Castle. It was not fair of them to allow that man to go on. And
 " why did they do it ? Because if they did not they could not have
 " dragged in Mr Parnell as a conspirator with him. And, I am sure
 " that you, as Irishmen, will tell the Right Hon. the Attorney-General,
 " representing Her Majesty's Government, that whatever Mr. Parnell
 " may be, whatever his faults may be, he is no conspirator for murder.
 " Mr. Nally was generally called upon to speak after the meeting was
 " closed, and, except on one or two occasions, he never was at any
 " meeting in which these desperate conspirators from Dublin appeared.
 " For they have so disavowed it. They were working for a legitimate
 " object to be attained by legitimate means. Nally's object was
 murder, if he believed in it, which he says he did not." There,
 gentlemen, is a defence. There is a way to treat Nally, gentlemen

of the jury. Nally attended fifteen meetings, seven of the traversers, at all events, were present at the meetings which he attended. Nally was never disavowed. No doubt, according to his counsel, he did mean murder if he believed in it. What is the reference to the dynamite? What is the meaning of the gun cotton? What is the reference to the landlord murder at Ballinrobe? What is the reference, by the other traversers, to the murder of Lord Mountmorres? Was this disavowed? Gentlemen of the jury, the meetings at which Nally was present—I say the trusted companion of the other defendants—were as follows. On the 3rd May, at Irishtown, in the county Mayo, Nally attended a meeting with Parnell, Boyton and Gordon. At Glennamaddy he was there by himself on the 16th May. He was at Ballyglass, in the Co. Mayo. On the 13th June he was at Shrule, Co. Galway, with Gordon. At that most remarkable meeting at Bohola, in the Co. Mayo, on the 30th July, he was present with Walsh. On that day week he was at Cong, in Mayo, with Gordon. He was at the Land League meeting at Duneen on the 18th July with Walsh. He was at Milltown, in the Co. Galway, on the 25th July, with Brennan and Gordon. He was at Frenchpark, in the Co. of Roscommon, on the 1st August, with Harris and Walsh. He was at Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon, on the 8th August, with O'Sullivan and Walsh; and he was at Tuam, in the Co. Galway, on the 15th August, with Brennan, and Walsh, and Gordon. Taking up the dates you will see, from June almost until 15th August, he was with these other traversers every Sunday attending meetings in the West. The printed resolutions—from Dublin I presume—but at all events the printed resolutions at the meetings were given into his hands to be moved. He hands the placards to the constables. I have a right to say that he was intrusted with the printed resolutions and the printed placards, and you are asked to say that he is not responsible because his counsel says that he was a drunken fool, while in the same breath he says that Nally meant murder if he believed in it; and I understand my learned friend to say that the condition of the country would palliate murder—

Mr. *Curran*.—I did not, Sergeant Heron.

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—Oh, no.

Sergeant *Heron*.—I withdraw it at once.

Mr. *Curran*.—I did not say it.

Sergeant *Heron*.—As regards the condition of the country, I think I have a right to say in this court that no condition of the country palliates murder. The commandment says, "Thou shalt do no murder"—and Nally meant murder if he believed in it. Well, I think it can hardly be said that Mr. Harris is to be disowned. Gentlemen, at the meeting in Galway, on the 24th October, Mr. Harris was there, and Mr. Parnell was there. Now it has been said over and over again that murder has been denounced from these platforms, and that every one of the traversers has disassociated himself from all connexion with these

frightful crimes. On the 3rd October Mr. Parnell, at Galway, delivered a most remarkable speech. The murder of Lord Mountmorres had occurred on the 26th September, and in all the meetings that were held on the 3rd October you find no denunciation of the murder, except, of course, I may say, that wherever a priest speaks of the murder, he speaks of it with abhorrence, and, according to his sacred calling, he enforces upon the people the law of God—"Thou shalt do no murder." Mr. Parnell spoke very smoothly, on the 24th of October, a remarkably short speech in Galway:—"Mr. Chairman and people of the city and county of Galway, it gives me great pleasure to stand in the county which was the second in Ireland to take up the great movement which was started last May twelvemonth by Michael Davitt, at Irishtown. You have nobly upheld that cause from that day to this day, in the face of every difficulty and discouragement, despite of the famine that threatened to carry you off in thousands last winter; and you will uphold that cause to-day in spite of the thousands of police and military that that hypocritical Chief Secretary and pretended Liberal Government have hurled into this country (groans). If famine was not able to subdue you last winter, neither will the threat of taxation for additional police conquer you to-day ('Never') Now, your chairman has deprecated assassination and violence as being unnecessary to win your cause, and very properly and justly deprecated it (hear, hear), and at all the land meetings which had been held up to the time when extra police were planted down in the County of Mayo, I also took care to join in that condemnation (hear, hear, 'Long may you live'); but I utterly refuse further to allow any credence to be attached to the charges which have been made against us and our people by the English press, by in future deprecating outrage and crime which do not and have not existed; and if it were otherwise, I say that the conduct of the Government, in violating the engagement upon which we gave them the votes for the constabulary, after seven nights' debate, and in sending these extra police into the famine-stricken counties of Galway, Mayo, and Kerry, disentitles them to my advocacy in assisting them to uphold an unjust and an infamous law (hear, hear). What is responsible? Who are responsible for the murders of landlords which have from time to time, at all times in our history, taken place in this country? It is admitted by everybody that English made law is responsible (cheers), and I say that the people who are primarily responsible for the murder of Lord Mountmorres, if it was an agrarian crime, and of that I have very great doubt, are the House of Lords, who, by rejecting the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, took the arbitrament of this question from the courts of law and placed it in the hands of the people; and the man who is secondarily responsible is this pretended humanitarian Chief Secretary of ours, buckshot Forster, who, when the House of Lords kicked out his Bill, and smote him on one cheek, turned to them the other cheek to smite also." Now,

in uttering this, Parnell tried to imitate O'Connell. O'Connell had a marvellous skill in fixing upon a man a nickname that lasted for life. In the course of a controversy, Mr. Disraeli happened to say in his letter that he didn't repent of the course he had taken. Dan O'Connell was down on him and in his next speech said that the honourable gentleman could not repent because he was the lineal descendant of the impenitent thief on the cross. Well, so much for the imitation. But there is this cry about the real criminals: Harris calls them "the real criminals," "agrarian criminals"; Parnell calls them the "responsible criminals"; others of the defendants the "real criminals." This phrase is derived—and really it shows how little originality there is in these statements by some of the traversers—this phrase had its origin in the celebrated speech of Henry Grattan, which my learned friend, Mr. A. M. Sullivan, remembered to-day, and which he partly adopted. Old Harry Grattan said in a splendid burst, "The rebel in the field must be put down; but the real criminal is the Minister in the Cabinet." That phrase of "real criminal" was then taken up and used in the wild licence which is allowed to defendant's counsel here in Ireland—was used by Isaac Butt in the case of the Queen *versus* Casey, when he said the real criminals were the landlords and not Casey whom he was defending. And accordingly it is repeated, and this doctrine of the real criminals, this doctrine of the agrarian criminals, this doctrine is adopted by Mr. Parnell:—Harris, who had spoken of shooting the landlords like partridges, being present at that meeting; Harris, who had denounced the Pollocks, the Blakes, the Nolans, and all the old Galway families, who had made that infamous speech about poisoning the dogs of the hunt, and of poisoning every field in the country, and of driving the Persses from the land. For more than twenty years I, myself, have been a member of the Galway Club, I can speak in their behalf. Personal experience has been appealed to, and I can speak of them as good landlords, living on terms of amity with their tenants, discharging every duty of social life. I know they join in the amusements of the field, and why should they not join in that Galway hunt, the "Blazers," as they are familiarly called, who are known all over Europe as a type of good sport and hospitality. This man, Harris, says, in the excuse that he made for advocating murder, that he was unwilling to shed the blood even of the lower animals, meaning that he would rather shoot a rat than a landlord, and he makes this speech about poisoning the dogs of the hunt, and Mr. Parnell makes his speech about the real criminals. That means that the real criminals are not the persons who in the secret lodge vote some one to death, not the assassin told off under a threat of death to do the murder, not the spy on the hill-top that lifts his hat as a warning to the assassin lurking in the hedge below that his victim is approaching, not the murderer on the run, not those who hide him from justice, but the landlord or agent foully murdered, left on the road avoided by the people, or carried home bleeding on a door to his wife and family. The real criminals forsooth are the persons who suffer and not the

murderers or those who hide them from the law. In every speech I find this phrase—"real criminal," "agrarian criminal," and to-day, in a speech of great eloquence, the quotation was again given, Mr. Sullivan again repeated the phrase that the real criminal was the Minister in the Cabinet and not these persons charged with these atrocious crimes. Gentlemen of the jury, that is the result of this preaching of Communism and murder. Again I say, priests and people,

" Behold your guide—your star,
You would be dupes and victims, and you are."

Gentlemen, Mr. Harris held up to social excommunication and public execration the Galway landlords. What was his speech at Kiltoom. He says—"We were called Communists, Socialists, Revolutionists, every bad epithet in the English language was applied to us, and we found the landlords would not stir a hair's breadth to meet the arguments we advanced; and we found on the other hand, that with some noble exceptions, we could not get the clergy to come forward on our platform and support us. I, myself, went to the parish of Astra; I could enumerate very many others, Ochran, Clohan, Athlone. I came to Dr. Coffey, in Athlone, to hold a meeting to denounce Pidgeon and some other bad men (cheers). But, my friends, we could not get the co-operation of the landlords on the one hand, or the clergy on the other. Therefore, I say to you, that when you hear agitators denounced, when we found reason and argument was of no avail, and we found it necessary to appeal to passions of the people to tell them how they were rack-rented by landlords, how they were exterminated by landlords, and tell them all the evils that could rouse up the passions and manhood of the country—when we found reason could not avail, we turned to the manhood of the country, and it is to the manhood of the country we appeal to-day." Again he says—"I remember, my fellow-parishioners, on the lands we stand upon, old Sir Frederick French, who was a very good man in his way, owned this property; built cottages for the comfort of his tenants. I do not say the cottages he built were suitable for the people; he resided in London; and it takes a man to live among the people to know the people. At all events, like a good-hearted man, he showed a desire to improve the condition of the people. After Sir Frederick, there came in Sir Charles Danville (oh), one of the most stupid, one of the greatest tyrants that ever existed. The first thing he did was to inquire where there was a poor man who had a farm where the rent might be raised; after that he came forward and made the people bring their cats and dogs to kill them." Lower down in his speech he says:—"The worst man is Sebastian Nolan; the worst man, the worst agent, and the greatest scoundrel in the West of Ireland. Sebastian Nolan was fired at in the County Galway (a voice—'It was time'). Of course the man who fired at him committed a very great crime (a voice—'Oh!') But for fear that he had been fired at, I will not say what another outrage he would even have committed—a greater

crime." This man denounced the Burkes, the Persses, in fact almost every landlord in Galway, and he shows what he would do if he had the power. Gentlemen of the jury, in reference to the last count in the indictment, it was a topic mentioned by several of the counsel who addressed you on behalf of the traversers, that that count was excluded for the purpose of shutting out evidence as to the misery of the country, as if the famine that took place years ago could for a moment be doubted. That is matter of history. But one class of evidence was not excluded, and could have been given, and ought to have been given, in evidence, if there was one particle of truth in the infamous slanders which have been uttered against the gentry of the county Galway. I read those passages in which this man, Matthew Harris, denounced the Blakes, the Persses, and other well-known families in the West. You heard the terms in which he denounced Mr. Sebastian Nolan. I repeat, I have the pleasure of knowing many of them, and I defy any evidence to be adduced against them of any acts of cruelty, tyranny, heartlessness, or oppression. Those passages in which those dreadful denunciations were uttered were read in evidence against the traversers. If true, could not evidence have been given in sustainment of the charges? Could not evidence have been given to show they were justified? Could not Mr. Gordon, Mr. Nally, Mr. Harris, or any one of the traversers against whom those dreadful passages were read—could they not have given evidence to justify them? No, gentlemen, they shrunk from that investigation, and I now charge them as deliberate misstatements. It was said there were 200 witnesses to prove these things. I repeat, in the presence of my learned and able friend, the veteran leader for the defence, and every time I think of the able manner in which he has conducted this case, the more must I admire him. I repeat in his presence—I do not say I challenge contradiction—and if, in the heat of argument, I should utter one word offensive, I will apologise for it, but, I repeat in his presence, that if there was one particle of foundation for those gross charges of tyranny, oppression and cruelty against the landlords of the West of Ireland, they could have proved them, they could have justified them, but, they shrunk from the proof, and why?—because those charges were pure inventions, without a particle of truth to justify them. I will now refer you, gentlemen, to the speech of Mr. Matthew Harris, at Frenchpark, on Sunday, 1st August. Before doing so let me observe that the only defence attempted as regards those dreadful charges read in evidence was by my friend, Mr. Curran, and I will take his own test. He says, if you believe they were in earnest, convict them. But he does not say that Matthew Harris was not in earnest. If he said that he was not in earnest, I do believe he would dismiss him as his counsel on the spot. So much for honesty and sincerity. He does not say it for Mr. Gordon, or Mr. Walsh, for each of those gentlemen, if challenged as to whether they were in earnest, would say they spoke the truth. They spoke fearlessly

and would strike for Ireland if they had an opportunity. The only man who had no excuse for not meaning what he said was Mr. Nally, who meant murder if he was in earnest. Mr. Matthew Harris, at that meeting in Frenchpark, says, "Well, I am happy to see that the people are realizing these things. They are feeling the necessity of combined action, and I hope the time is not far distant when the people will be so united that when the bailiff or when the sheriff (groans, and cries of 'Down with them')—or when the landlord comes to dispossess the poor industrious person from his holding, which according to all the laws of justice and humanity and morality he has a better right to than the landlord that the people throughout the country will all rise like one man, that signal fires will make their appearance on the hill-top, and that every man in the vast area will come together in thousands and tens of thousands and say to the landlord, 'You can go no further. This man is our brother—this man is our neighbour—this man has a better right to the earth than the extravagant landlord, and we shall not allow this man to be disturbed—we shall not allow one hair of his head to be disturbed—we shall not allow his farm to be taken from him—we shall not allow his children to be thrown out on the world—we shall not allow his aged father to be driven upon the mercy of the waves (great cheering, and cries of 'never') by any tyrant no matter who he is.' Well, my friends, it is only by union and organization you can accomplish this. By this union and organization you can accomplish all I say, and very much more than I have told you. Then, I ask, must he not be a grossly selfish man who would stand aloof from a great movement which promises this. It is those rotten men—those vile bad men—help themselves and themselves alone (voices—'We won't let them'). They sneer at the men like Mr. Kelly beyond, who has done a great deal (cheers. Voices—'Such fellows that went to serve the processes the other day,' 'They had to go home quick,' 'We were the boys that were able to do it,' 'Down with them,' great cheering.)" That is the language, gentlemen, of Mr. Harris, and indeed I must say of these men of whom I am now speaking, that they have spoken according to their lights. And looking at these matters from an imperial point of view, and not from a national point of view, a statesman possibly would prefer to meet the open, manly, high treason utterances of these men, than to have rebellion secret and veiled under the false mask of constitutional agitation. I referred to the threat Mr. Harris used against the priests who would not join them. That threat is constantly repeated, and even the Lord Lieutenant and Archbishop M'Cabe were mentioned at one of those meetings to shouts of "Away with them." At every meeting where there is not a priest present, at that meeting threats are used against the priests. What does Mr. Gordon say at Shrulce, on the 20th of June?—"Mr. P. J. Gordon seconded the resolution, and in doing so said—I am proud of having the honour of addressing you here in Shrulce to-day. I had made up my mind to attend another meeting, but something

has occurred in this gallant county that is echoed by my feelings. The Church teaches that he who is not with you is against you, and I am sorry the priest of this parish is not here to-day. Let it not be understood that I want to excite that gentleman; but I will not let it be understood that his name is in accordance with his acts. He bears the name of Good, but he is damn little good." That is the way the parish priest is spoken of? He continues:—"It is the people of the parish that has made him what he is, and it is you, with your hard earnings, that has placed him in this position. I am leaving it in your own hands to chastise those who are against the people. I understand, my friends, that there is a party here who has got up a system of reporting to the Government that the peaceable people of Shrule and its surroundings were determined to cut one another's throats. But I say we have no intention of cutting the throats of our friends, but I don't care if half the throats of our enemies were cut before morning." Gentlemen, if Mr. Gordon's counsel observed that speech, and said he was drunk or that he did not mean it, I repeat, he would dismiss him from his advocacy on the spot. In the same way, at Kiltullagh, on the 22nd August, Mr. John W. Walsh says:—"I am exceedingly sorry, as a Catholic, that your parish priest has not come here to grace this platform to-day, but instead of doing so he thought fit to say that this meeting was got up by strangers. Well, I don't consider myself a stranger in Kiltullagh (no, no), nor do any of the gentlemen whom I see around me. We are all Irishmen, and we should be brothers. Perhaps Father Pelly does not like to displease some of the lords in the neighbourhood, who hold the land under the title granted by Cromwell (groans), or Elizabeth, or the broken Treaty of Limerick." He is apparently under the impression Elizabeth succeeded Cromwell. "Father Pelly may think he has a right to the land, but I tell him he has no right to the land, that the land belongs to the people; and how can it be found that any minister of God, especially a Roman Catholic minister, or any Roman Catholic, can be got to believe that those men holding under the title of Cromwell, can have any right in the soil is more than I can understand." Then he says—"Oliver Cromwell betrayed your fathers' cause because they were Catholics." At Clerhaun, on the 10th of October, Mr. P. J. Gordon says, "Now, I ask you are you satisfied with this system of land robbery? If you are determined men, band yourselves together. I will ask the fair daughters of this locality to combine together, to be in the band equal to the men, and if there is a cowardly man in the village let the brave women force him to the front. . . . A man could make money and buy a property, and then crush the people. I ask you to combine together and swear before God on High that you are determined to stick to the land of your birth. Why is it, at this time of poverty and distress, that you have not your priest on this platform to-day as your chairman? (Groans.) I don't want you to groan him, but I want you to teach him a lesson. I am a Catholic, devoted to the Church of Rome, and to-morrow, if my Church

were in danger, I'd be one of the first to fight for her; and when the late Pope wanted soldiers in the field, I can truly boast that I was the first recruit in the county Galway. My ambition is to see my people free—to see them in the land of their birth; and my ambition is to see the priest with the people. And when the priest wrongs the people I am the first man to denounce him on the platform. Perhaps you do not know why he is not here to-day. Perhaps you are not aware that he is a landlord. At the late election in Roscommon I had been invited to a meeting, and the priest, a Patrick's Day, spoke from the altar of me, and he gave me my Patrick's pot. I made up my mind to go to his parish on Easter Sunday, and I gave him his Easter eggs. I told the people to hold their shillings in their pockets, and let him go live on his 9,000, and the result was that all the collection he got was 16s. I will ask you here to-day to teach this new parish priest a lesson, and you will find the next meeting you will get up he will invite himself as chairman. I don't wish to speak against the priest; but the more devoted you are to the Church the better you will be. You know that he is a little landlord, and I hope he never will be bigger." The same Mr. P. J. Gordon, who spoke in this manner on more than one occasion of the clergy, attended a meeting at Abbeyknockmoy, county Galway, on the 3rd October. Gentlemen of the jury, the ruins of the Abbey of Knockmoy are celebrated in Ireland. It was at one time a place of great wealth. There the old monks for more than 400 years resided in the abbey, and owned the lands about it, and their bones and the bones of Irish princes rest in the old grave-yard attached to it. It was indeed a solemn place to hold a meeting in, identified as it is with so many associations of home, country, and religion. There was sufficient about it to excite reverence in the mind of every man standing there. But what is the speech of Mr. Gordon? He says, "Allow me to tell you that at this meeting you have traitors in your cause. You have men among you who have made capital of your poverty. But while you have among you four pillars of the Church of Rome, and you have also on this platform the representative of the real Suggarth Aroon in Father Egglinton, and though last not least, Rev. Father Butler. Now I have done with the priests. They are a class in themselves." He goes on—"But I want to speak now about the landlords which surround this locality. I heard an amount of praise given to some landlords, but unfortunately in Ireland a good landlord is as scarce as a white blackbird. I have known one landlord since I was born, in Tuam, and his name sinks deep into my heart. I will not screen the name of that land robber, Robert Henry of Togher. I have seen him yesterday in Tuam with a very smooth face upon him, and they say the greater the rogue the smoother he goes. He is one of those land sharks. When I see before me the motto of that independent nation, the stars and stripes, I hope and trust that the day will yet arrive when the stars and stripes of Ireland will float on the hill tops of Ireland (cheers.)" Again he says:—"On this day week I had the great honour of

attending a meeting at Clonbur. I had no idea of being there until the Rev. Father Conway, the poor man's friend. I received a telegram, because he suspected that the letter did not reach me. Well, when I arrived at Clonbur I had the pleasure of hearing that some great land robber was murdered, or shot himself. The Government of England were murmuring because Mountmorres was shot. I don't approve of murdering anyone, but I say that the Government of England did not go into mourning when the people were starving." When Father Conway ever mentioned that dreadful occurrence in his parish he spoke as became a priest and Christian, and enforced the commandment of God, "Thou shalt do no murder." But what does Mr. Gordon say—"that when he arrived in Clonbur he had the pleasure of hearing some great land robber was murdered or shot himself." Gentlemen, in this Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gordon are the same. You remember Mr. Parnell's speech at Galway, when he said, "if the murder was agrarian, which I greatly doubt?" When Lord Norbury was murdered, the agrarian press said it was one of the family who did it, and when Mrs. Kelly was murdered in the presence of seventeen people, it was said it was not agrarian. Now, Mr. Gordon tells the people that he had the pleasure of hearing that some land-robber was murdered, or shot himself. You will bear that in mind, gentlemen. Gentlemen of the jury, Lord Mountmorres bore a title. He was in that sense one of the aristocracy. He was a very poor man, a very humble man, except for his title and name. His property was of the very smallest and humblest description, and, after all the investigation which has taken place, and taking the circumstances of the country into consideration, can there be any question that there was no cause for his murder, except for the purpose of striking terror into the aristocracy, of which he was supposed to be a member? He was a man, too, whom it would seem it was easy to murder. What does Mr. Gordon, further on in the same speech, say—"Don't rest contented slaves by the fireside. Wherever you know there is a newspaper to be read, wherever you see that Paudeen O'Rafferty's Commandments are read, let you go there and listen to every word, and go home, and . . . that England is here only as a robber. I will ask you for the future that you will pay no rack-rent; you will hold within the bounds of the Land League, and pay no rack-rent. I know there are land-sharks in the village. I will tell you what you will do to them—treat them in the form of a mad dog; and that is, when he appears in the village, every man in the village halloos him until he goes and drowns himself. Do not have any intercourse with him. Do not speak to him; don't speak to his wife and children; and if he go into the chapel, let him go into a corner for himself. Let the people of this parish respect their priest, and let them mark out that land shark—point him out to the priest; let him die, as I said about Castlereagh. He first betrayed his country, and when England had no job for him to do, he went and cut his throat." And a second time he says—"The priest has spoken of a minister who has no appointment

from God or man. He stands up to preach over the remains of a dead lord, or a dead dog, if you like. I have been on the spot where he was shot. Why did not the Government mourn over the dead body of the people? I say it is better that one tyrant should fall than that many should perish. I don't wish the murder of anyone, but that he would live and repent. I would much rather that Lord Mountmorres should live and repent. He is gone before his God. Let the Government settle the land question, let them settle the tenants; and as Paudeen O'Rafferty says, 'He has worked from morning till evening often on yellow stirabout, while he hands over to the landlord every penny he can get.' If the Government wish to put a stop to crime let them settle the land question. They have aided the landlords to rob you first and starve you afterwards." After speaking those dreadful sentiments as to the murder he performs the sign of the cross, which every Catholic reveres, by saying—"I ask you here to-day, in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, to combine as honest men until we get shut of landlordism." Gentlemen of the jury, I mentioned to you that in the columns of the *Nation*, all along parallel with these things, are leading articles and newspaper paragraphs referring to the land meetings which I read as showing that all along the leaders of the organization approved definitely of the movement. Gentlemen, a remarkable meeting took place at Riversville, Co. Galway, on the 19th September. Mr. M. M. O'Sullivan and Mr. Matthew Harris were there. Riversville was the meeting held in reference to Murty Hynes and the terrorism practised on him in order to insure his giving up a farm. Remember, gentlemen, this system of a strike against rents includes a strike against the small landlords. In the early part of the movement the denunciations only appeared to be against the great landlords against men with great estates, like the Marquess of Downshire in the north; the Duke of Leinster in the centre of Ireland; the Duke of Devonshire in the south; Lord Clanricarde in the west, and the Duke of Abercorn in the north-west. But the business men and shrewd farmers who joined in the movement, and were inclined to join in it, from a promise of the transfer of the property into their own hands, very soon perceived that it would never do to abolish the great landlords of Ireland. I have mentioned four or five names of great proprietors, the management of whose estates is unimpeachable, who are admittedly good landlords, and let their lands to their tenants at fair rents. But in the panaceas for the relief of our country, in getting rid of feudal landlordism, the Encumbered Estates Court and the Landed Estates Court were carrying out a system of selling out the old landlords whose properties were incumbered and bringing in new blood into the country by selling to men—shopkeepers, and traders, and merchants—who made fortunes, and were enabled to become proprietors in their neighbourhoods of comparatively small estates. Gentlemen of the jury, the law of competition settles prices, and by no possibility can

any Government settle either the price of tea, sugar, corn, or the price or rent of land. We are all engaged to a certain extent in a struggle for existence. The law of competition, as I have stated, is the law by which ultimately the price of everything must be fixed, whether rent, or the price of land, or any merchandise. Of course it is possible that by some sudden and violent law the property of one proprietor might be transferred to another, and the landlords could all be abolished by an Act of Parliament, or without a valuation the property could be transferred to the tenants. But the tenants themselves insist in the clearest manner on free sale and fixity of tenure, by means of which they would be able to screw the last farthing out of one another. In the progress of the agitation fair rent and fixity of tenure were suggested, but it would not be accepted, and, at all events, it was repudiated by Mr. Dillon. Accordingly, gentlemen, in this odious tyranny which the Land League seeks to enforce one of the articles of the programme resolves itself into this, that no man in Ireland is fit to be a landlord, or shall be allowed to be a landlord. Suppose, gentlemen, the landlords were all annihilated and the land of Ireland transferred to the 600,000 tenants, by what system of skill or ingenuity could they be prevented from letting the land to one another. The thing is absurd. Over and over again that passage of Mr. John Stuart Mill has been quoted. I have read and studied his works, and I know that passage of Mr. Mill. He said the land of Ireland belonged to the people of the country, and the landlords have only a right to the rent or compensation for the saleable value. That is the observation of a statesman, knowing the title to individual property must be subject to the necessities of the people of the State. A monopoly of land is a great monopoly in a country, because land everywhere is practically limited. But the second part of the proposition is omitted by the agitators, and they put on their banners and say, the land of every country belongs to the people, omitting the strict economical definition which says, the landlords have a right to the rent or compensation for the saleable value. Its saleable value is fixed by the law of competition, which fixes the price of everything, of tea and sugar as well as the rent of land. Is the proposition this—that there is no man in Ireland fit to be a landlord except the fourteen defendants? And does not everyone know that if the properties of the Duke of Abercorn, the Marquess of Downshire, the Duke of Leinster, and the Duke of Devonshire were divided between the fourteen defendants, the rents would be doubled in two years. But we are now going through this conspiracy which is a strike at rent and a strike at property. Riversville was the place where Murty Hynes was denounced, and had to come forward and submit to the Land League. Harris there says: “If before these heartless exterminations took place, if before Lord Dunsandle”—another Galway landlord whose name, up to this I had not mentioned, and whom Harris had denounced by name to the execration of a people—“If before these heartless exterminations took place—if before Lord Dunsandle had done the injury he has done, especially about the dis-

tract of Kiltullagh—if they had assembled together in their thousands, as you have assembled here to-day, and if they had held up Lord Dunsandle to public opprobrium ; if they had made this country too hot for Lord Dunsandle in the sense of a country being too hot for a man who has the hatred of a people against him ; if they had done that the exterminations which have taken place upon Lord Dunsandle's property never would have taken place. Therefore, my friends, I say you are here to-day engaged in one of the noblest and most glorious works men can be engaged in—you are engaged in a great work of Christian charity—you are engaged in assisting your fellow man, not by giving him a half-penny or a few potatoes in charity—though that of itself is a good act—but by doing a work which will be beneficial not to one or two, but to thousands of thousands, to millions I might say, for it will extend itself throughout the whole country. You know as well as I know that the man's friend or brother from whom this farm has been taken was in the past one of the worst instruments that Lord Dunsandle had. Now, I am not anxious to speak in favour of this Bermingham, who has been evicted from this farm. I have stood upon many platforms, but I always speak out my mind like an independent, honest man. It is not that we want to support Bermingham, it is not that we care about Bermingham, it is not that we want to interfere between Lord Dunsandle and the slaves that he has had around him in the past ; but we have come to maintain the broad principle that no man should auction a crop, or take land from which another has been evicted." And then he goes on in dreadful language :—" In the Presidency of Bengal, when what they call a ' man-eater,' one of the fiercest of the tiger species, puts his appearance in, the whole of the villagers around are in a state of alarm. The tiger ! They do not know when he may devour some of them, and they all come together and make great exertions to drive him from the locality in which he is. So it should be with a bad landlord, his agent, or bailiff ; when he comes into a district to oppress and grind them, to put people out of their peaceable homes, you should all congregate together as people do in Bengal, and drive that worst of tigers from your midst. I am sure to-day that, if the tenant-farmers of Ireland had their choice, they would sooner have imported into the country so many lions or tigers, or any other savage animals, than have the landlords they at present have oppressing them. If you do not get up among yourselves a spirit of resistance ; if you do not say that you have endured this tyranny too long ; if you do not make these people understand that you are not tools for cravens to play with ; if you do not show that you have sufficient courage, sufficient sense, sufficient moderation, sufficient judgment and reason, sufficient everything that is noble and right in man ; if you do not remember that you are made after the likeness of the Great Being who is over us all ; if you do not remember that, and that the true nobility of man consists in his resistance to everything that is vile and tyrannical ; if you do not remember these things, and, remembering them, combine to put down everything that oppresses

you ; if you do not do that, between the bad Government that is ruling over us, and the landlords as they are, and the bailiffs as they are ; if you do not consider these things, I fear that those who come after us will say that those who came before them were wanting in the warm blood and generous sentiments that are the characteristics of true Irishmen." Gentlemen, this meeting was addressed by several other persons. We see that the word "slave" is used, and the word "traitors" is used. Over and over again the words "people's curse" are used—the "curse of the people and their children's shame," and all these words. So again, Mr. Harris, at the meeting at Riversville says:—"Burton Persse, as Master of the Galway Foxhounds, I blame. I tell Burton Persse—I tell the whole of the Persses in Galway—that if they go on oppressing the people, they will have to drop their hunting." Then at the close of the meeting a letter about Murty Hynes is read. Gentlemen of the jury, the Bohola meeting, held immediately after, had a remarkable placard at it, which was the same as the placard at a subsequent meeting, with a promise to contain the names of the land-grabbers of Connaught. Remember that this violent language is used in the wild county of Galway. This cry of "Death to tyrants," and "Death to traitors," is used before that wild and excitable population. When I speak about the gentry of Galway, I may say I have a right to speak about the people of Galway. I have known them well for many years, and they have known me. I think I know the country better than the London Irishmen who only come over here at the time of a general election.

Adjourned till next day.

EIGHTEENTH DAY—FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 1881.

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD and Mr. Justice BARRY took their seats on the bench at a quarter past eleven o'clock.

Mr. Sergeant *Heron* resumed his reply for the Crown. He said—May it please your lordships, gentlemen of the jury—Yesterday I ventured to criticise the origin and progress of the conspiracy. I referred to the assistance it was getting from America and from certain districts in Ireland, and in particular I referred to the three names of Devoy, Davitt, and Harris. I had occasion, of course, speaking here for the Crown, to speak, I will say severely, about their conduct ; but I trust I did not exceed my duty in so doing. And I am aware, from a personal act of courtesy to myself yesterday evening, to which I refer for a moment, that such is the feeling entertained by others. I am not aware who sent me the letter I received—whether from lady or gentleman—but I think whoever did send it for that act of courtesy to me on behalf of this gentleman. He is not a traverser, he is not a defendant, and therefore I refer to it here. Gentlemen of the jury, I adverted also to the statements made concerning the great distress prevailing in Ireland. My

learned friends referred to the loss of the potato crop—£10,000,000 in three years, under the average—and the destitution in consequence of that. One topic of distress, well known in Ireland, alluded to in Parliament, and one of the causes of the destitution in the West, which I know so well, has not, as far as I can make out—certainly not in my presence—been referred to in any of the speeches of my learned friends who addressed you for the traversers, and that, I may fairly presume, for a reason that shall appear at once. I refer to the agricultural distress which prevailed in the east of England and prevented the usual wages being paid to the harvestmen who go over there to reap the harvest. It is well known from official calculation that £250,000 were thus lost in 1879 to the agricultural labourers of the west of Ireland who go to reap the harvest in England, showing that our prosperity is inseparably connected with England's prosperity, and that Ireland's distress is inseparably united with the distress in England. Now I presume that was done by design, because, from your elevated position in that box, you must have seen that my learned friends who appear for the defence in this case have had the ablest assistance—I venture to say—of some of the most learned literary men of the day. We cannot avoid using our eyes and seeing from a distance, the briefs so well and so tastefully got up by Mr. Dillon in this case, and, of course, he obtained assistance as to their contents from literary men and others, the result being the compilation of extracts, which will make, I dare say, afterwards a valuable literary document. No doubt it will. But whether briefed or not, that subject has not been alluded to here. Gentlemen of the jury, I am referring to that matter because one of the places I know so well—the village of Ballyhaunis, in the centre of Lord Dillon's property, is one of those places from which there is an annual migration of harvestmen to the east of England, and which has suffered terribly in consequence of the want of employment last season and the year before. I remember seeing it proved in one of the returns that the poor men who thus go over to reap the English harvest sent home, in post-office orders alone, to that village between £12,000 and £15,000—a fact redounding to their credit, a fact redounding to their industry, their integrity, their thrift, and their love of home, but also showing in the clearest manner that the prosperity of Ireland is inseparably united with the prosperity of England. Now, what was the doctrine preached to these men in Galway and Mayo, suffering under the greatest pressure of distress? In July, at Bohola and at Milltown—the meeting at Bohola being held on the 4th July, and the meeting at Milltown on the 25th of July, dreadfully inflammatory speeches were delivered and placards of even a worse description still were posted. Believe me, when the landlords are called tyrants, when the tenants are called slaves and traitors, when the path is pointed out to freedom by emptying the Minie rifles into the bosoms of those traitors to their cause—believe me that, when at Galway, at Ennis, at Bohola, and at Milltown, the leaders of the movement associate

themselves with either Mr. Walsh or Mr. Nally in this wild language, many a wild Galway boy, and many a wild Mayo boy, fired with the passion and desire for revenge, rushes off to buy his Deringer, to buy his revolver, and hopes afterwards to place on it a wreath of shamrock for having rid the world of a tyrant, as Harmodius wreathed his sword with myrtle. Watch the language in the speeches, and watch the language in the placards—see how they correspond. The placard runs—

“TRAITORS IN THE CAMP.

“Men of Connaught—

“A year has now passed by since you pledged yourselves never to take a farm from which another had been evicted, or which had been surrendered because of inability to pay rent.

“Have you adhered to the spirit and letter of that pledge?

“Have there been among you base, sordid traitors, who have betrayed your interests by breaking that pledge?

“Have the land-grabbers, land-sharks, and land-thieves been at their old work in your midst?

“If so, have you done your duty to your fellow-countrymen?

“Have you ceased to buy or sell from the traitors?

“Have you avoided them in the public place?

“If not, attend to it.

“Banish the land-sharks from the society of honest men.

“Leave their corn uncut, their potatoes undug, and themselves to wither under a people's curse.

“Their names, their human names, shall hang on high,
Exalted 'mid their less abhorred compeers,
To fester through the infamy of years ”

“Down with land-grabbers, and God save the People.”

That is the Bohola placard, and it is repeated at the Milltown meeting, with this addition—“The next issue of this will contain the names and addresses of all the land-grabbers in Connaught who have taken farms from which others have been evicted, or which have been surrendered owing to inability to pay rent. Look out for land-sharks. Down with Landlordism. God save Ireland,” These placards are composed with great literary skill. Mr. T. D. Sullivan, in his speech at Ennis, almost repeats these placards, and we can easily see whence they originated—from what they were written or copied. Remember the lines—

“Oh, for a tongue to curse the slave,
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the counsels of the brave,
And blasts them in their hour of might.

His country's curse, his children's shame—
Outcast of virtue, peace, and fame.”

Great literary skill is exhibited in these placards—ay, and in the speeches too. And the words which our national poet applied to the deserter—

the traitorous deserter, who, on the eve of the battle to decide the fate of his country's independence, sold the pass on his brave comrades, betrayed their lifeblood to the tyrant, and doomed his country to perpetual slavery—those words are applied to the poor fellows trying to live, trying to pay their debts, though anxious, no doubt, to add farm to farm and to get on in the world. Gentlemen of the jury, if this be not conspiracy, I don't know what is. They, themselves, admit the conspiracy—they, themselves, admit most of what is charged against them; convict them if you believe them, acquit them if you can. Gentlemen, I regard those meetings at Bohola, and Milltown, and Riversville as of peculiar importance, and how is all this met? I heard an eloquent speech from Mr. Sullivan yesterday; I shall criticise that address in no disrespectful spirit; I have known Mr. Sullivan a long time, and I can boast to say that I once stood beside him as an advocate in the hour of his peril; but one part of that speech I remember and I complain of—it is when he compared the poor harvest labourer from the west of Ireland, going home in a railway train with the wages of industry, and meeting with a railway accident—when he compared him to the dying gladiator, and repeating Byron's lines, stopped short at

“Butchered to make a Roman holiday.”

Omitting the last line,

“Arise ye Goths and glut your ire.”

I venture to say that poor man got every attention from the railway officials and from the dispensary doctors, and that he was well cared and looked after. He was going home with the wages of industry, he met with a railway accident and the idea of comparing him to the dying gladiator is simply to falsify all history and literature. I have as yet only commented on what Mr. Curran said, because he was appointed to speak to the evidence. My friend, Mr. Dillon, spoke on behalf of the traversers, and made a most excellent joke, advising the shoemaker to stick to his last, and the Attorney-General to the last count in the indictment—a capital thing, and worthy of being remembered, and he will never hear the last of it. My friend, Mr. M'Laughlin, told a story about Brian Boroihme, and a steamboat and a tramcar, and I could not well make out the meaning of it, except that he represented Brian Boroihme taking his place in a tramcar to go to the battle of Clontarf. The next time Mr. M'Laughlin tells that story I would advise him to see my friend, Mr. Peter O'Brien, and take a lesson in the pronunciation of the great hero's name. Gentlemen of the jury, Brian Boroihme was a great man—he was one of the few persons who understood how to accomplish the unity of Ireland. He fought a battle called a victory, but with doubtful success. It was at Clontarf. He accomplished nothing, he fell at Clontarf, and the miserable end of the army of the great Irishman, who appears to have gathered the people of Ireland together, was, that whilst going through the district now called

the Queen's county, some of the clans of Ossory fell upon them and almost destroyed them,

“ Forget not our wounded companions who stood,
 In the day of the fight by our side ;
 Though the grass of the valley ran red with their blood,
 They stirred not, but conquered and died.”

Mr. Adams made a capital speech. I have known Mr. Adams for a long time (not so very long after all) and I am proud of my circuit having so distinguished a junior on it. I was delighted to hear portion of that speech. I could not hear the whole of it, but I read it as reported in the *Freeman's Journal*, which, I presume, did justice to him. I congratulate him upon his speech, and I recognise in him the future leader of my brilliant circuit. Mr. Sullivan is one of those exiles now who have usurped the place of the ancient exiles of Erin—he has left Ireland and lives in London, and as I expressed my wish for Richard Adams, I, in the same way, express my sincere wish that Mr. Sullivan in England, at the English Bar, and in the English Senate, as he himself calls it, may reach the position which another distinguished Irishman now has, as leader of the Common Law Bar of England. Gentlemen of the jury, when I used the expression “London Irish” yesterday evening, it was not in any disrespect to my friends the London Irish. They are proud of the name—it is the name of one of the most gallant regiments of volunteers—“The London Irish.” There they are in London, prospering in London—many of them on Gurney's staff; several of whom appeared to such advantage on that table; many of them in the gallery of the House of Commons, showing what Irish wit and learning and genius can do all over the world. These exiles from their country revenge the wrongs of Ireland exactly in the same way as the Scottish inn-keepers every year avenge the battle of Flodden Field. And, no doubt, some of them have prepared the briefs for this trial, and have prepared the evidence for counsel who spoke for some of the traversers. It is my duty to advert to the first and greatest counsel who spoke for them—my learned and eloquent friend, Mr. Macdonogh. Up to the time that Mr. Curran spoke not a single one of the traversers' counsel referred to the evidence that I heard, and that was the meaning of Mr. Justice Fitzgerald's pertinent question as to Mr. Peter O'Brien: - “Where's Hamlet”? because up to that time the part of Hamlet had been most carefully omitted. Where was Hamlet, but Hamlet did not reply, “You may call spirits from the vasty deep,” but where are they?—where are they? Hamlet O'Brien also spoke wide of the mark, except that in his peroration Mr. Peter O'Brien certainly said the best thing that has been said in Ireland ever since Sir Boyle Roche spoke. But I was on the subject of Mr. Macdonogh, my learned friend, and I have jotted down the stories and topics in ancient and modern history, and the records of the home and foreign policy of the British Government during many years, to which he referred. He spoke on the first day of “the caves and recesses which the mighty roll of the Atlantic causes along the North-west of Ireland. The

caves and recesses—the romantic region to which the recollections of his early boyhood pointed in the North-west of Ireland.” He then divided his admirable speech, I might almost say, into three portions. In the first portion of it he referred to the life and opinions of Sir John Davies, Dean Swift, Bishop Berkeley, Oliver Cromwell, the Duke of Wellington, William the Third, and Marcus Costelloe. In the second head of his speech, he referred—sometimes with censure, sometimes with praise—to Gambetta, the Duc D’Aumale, the Irish Tories, rogues, and rapparees—what splendid associations for the Conservative party, rogues and rapparees—the ancient Romans, the laws of Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Germany, and he then referred to the Zemindars, and the Ryots of India—peaceable peasants, not rioters at all. He referred to Major Purcell O’Gorman, and William Lane Joynt. In the third part of his speech on the first day, he began with a quotation from the illustrious patriot Kossuth. He then referred to Bristol and the Sugar Plantations, and the Sugar Trade; then to Father Matthew, Cardinal Manning, Sir Wilfred Lawson, Earl Shaftesbury, the Quakers, the Haughtons, the National Debt, Mr. Plimsoll, and Con. Molloy. Now was there ever such a speech since the world began. After that last reference his strength slowly failed him, and he retired; and the following day he came into court like a giant refreshed with wine. On the following day he referred to Westminster Hall, Brinsley Sheridan, Edmund Burke, Warren Hastings, the report of the Riots in the Phoenix Park, and the Riots in Hyde Park, to the Solid Saxon Men and the Norman Conquerors, the Doges of Venice, James the Second and the Great Seal, Stephen Langton, Magna Charta, and the Great Forests, the Salmon Weirs, and the Salmon—that is part of my learned friend’s speech—a quotation from his celebrated speech in the Duke of Devonshire’s cause about the fishing on the Blackwater—the Barons of England, and the Banners of the Church, and I find he referred to “the winding shore that sweeps round the Norman Keep of Windsor Castle,” and says—“There the Barons stood on that hot summer’s day.” He says—“There I saw with my own eyes a tree—the anchorite yew—which, on the very day the Magna Charta was signed, put forth its blossoms and its buds to the sun. I saw it after 600 years still vigorous in its old age.” If my learned friend referred to any book or dictionary about the yew tree he would have discovered his error. Everybody knows that Magna Charter was signed on the 15th June, and it was perfectly impossible, according to the laws of forest culture, that the yew tree appeared to give blossom on that day.

Mr. *Curran*.—There is no evidence of that.

Mr. Sergeant *Heron*.—My friend also said it was a proper thing to refer to Magna Charta and also these matters. I have given, I think, a very fair analysis of my learned friend’s speech. He appears to have most strangely resembled the old Roman lawyer, Posthumus, who was a very eminent man in his time, and pleaded all the great causes. Amongst others there is a sketch by Martial of him, which appears to

me to be singularly appropriate to my learned friend's speech. It was an action about the recovery of three sheep—what we call trover for three sheep. The Roman lawyer had been talking about Sylla and Marius, and the great wars of Rome, not a word about the sheep. The complaint of the client is in one of Martial's epigrams, and is wonderfully paraphrased by Mr. Hay, and put into an English dress, and I will take the liberty of reading it:—

“ My cause concerns nor battery nor treason,
 I sue my neighbour for this only reason :
 That late three sheep of mine to pound he drove,
 This is the point the court would have you prove.
 Concerning Magna Charta, you run on,
 And all the perjuries of old King John;
 Then of the Edwards, and Black Prince, you rant,
 And talk of John o' Stiles and John o' Gaunt,
 With voice and hands a mighty pother keep—
 Now pray, dear sir, one word about the sheep.” (Laughter.)

Gentlemen of the jury, don't imagine I mean any disrespect to my learned friend. I have known him long and well, and he has given me in legal warfare many a hard knock in his time. I admit myself *impar congressus Achilli*. But I submit, gentlemen, that that is a fair comment in this case. Has he said one word about the sheep in his speech? He has not referred to the language bordering on treason and bordering on sedition. Has he said one single word about what has been proved in evidence? Not one single word. Oh, I had forgotten. Hamlet was called upon, and Hamlet O'Brien appeared, and then made a speech. I am sorry he is not here. After making a speech, the greater part of which was made in Cork, where he informed the jury there, and the public of Ireland, and the world that his was the only heart of a patriot that beat under a silk gown.—Quite forgetting that there are many hearts beating under both silk and satin quite as good patriots as Mr. O'Brien. The scene has been described to you after that trial in Cork and the acquittal, how his client embraced him and shook hands with him. He told you in his peroration that the Attorney-General had dug up a hatchet—a rusty hatchet—and had brandished it in some manner in this indictment against his clients, and he asked you, or he asked somebody, or the hand of freedom, to enrol your verdict in the annals of the human race and the archives of humanity. That is what we call mixed metaphor. I will tell you what that is derived from. I suppose it is something about a tomahawk and the pipe of peace. It got mixed in his mind, gentlemen of the jury—the references of Mr. Macdonogh were patent, familiar; but this was very mixed. Where did Mr. O'Brien find that quotation? The National Assembly in Paris—they had a great deal of fun in Paris in those days, but they had the guillotine and Bastille as well—the National Assembly was proceeding to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, on the 14th of July. Shortly before that date a gentle-

man appeared at the bar of the House with a number of persons with him. Some of them were dressed as Poles, some as Russians, some as Turks, some as Chinese, and there was one as an American Indian with hardly anything on him, but a tomahawk. That suggested the reference to the hatchet in my learned friend's speech. The name of this gentleman was, originally, J. B. Cloutz, but he called himself Anacharsis Cloutz, after the Greek philosopher, and proclaimed himself the apostle of mankind, and the orator of the human race. And he demanded that moment to be admitted as a member of the federation, as the apostle of mankind, and the orator of the human race. It afterwards turned out that these persons were not real Chinese or Turks at all, but only young fellows about Paris dressed in masquerade dresses from the Opera House. He demanded to be admitted, and these were troublesome times, and he was ultimately admitted to the National Assembly by the national vote. The clerk attending, however, went to him and asked to put down his name and record him as a member of the National Assembly. "No," said Anacharsis Cloutz, "let my admission to the National Assembly be enrolled in the archives of the human race." Where is Anacharsis O'Brien? Is he there blushing? He is from Clare, and it is little for blushing they care down there. Now, gentlemen of the jury, I ask you, is this not the rhodomontade we have been listening to? Your attention has been sought to be diverted from the issues you have to try. What you have to try is—did the traversers combine and conspire for a strike against rent? Did they try to do this by unlawful means? You have heard about people being threatened with Boycotting, and with being Boycotted; that this has been going on for eighteen months in Ireland; and when men boast of their guilt, are they to be acquitted by the jury? They boast of their guilt. Are oaths gone out of the world? No doubt they are if the Ten Commandments of Paudeen O'Rafferty are the law, the new law—the Commandments set up before the people in this disturbed country. The Attorney-General of course referred to these Commandments. He most reverently alluded to the incident of the Sermon on the Mount. It would do no harm to any man, Christian or Atheist, to read the Divine Commandments and have them by heart. But they had there produced in court the blasphemous, the infamous production which led the people on the highway of sedition and murder. This is the work of Atheists—the outcome of Communism and Nihilism, but which has happily been defeated in many portions of the country by the good sense and shrewdness of the people who see that they are brought into a conspiracy in which they are deceived. Gentlemen of the jury, I must do my duty, and I recall your attention to the evidence which of course on the *mot d'ordre* of my learned friend here, the leader, was, to a certain extent, obliterated from the court. And as regards the combination, as regards the doctrines, and as regards what are called O'Rafferty's Commandments, I find the same expressions running through almost every one of

the speakers' addresses in this conspiracy, from the highest to the lowest. Boyton, at Newtown, says, "There have been evictions in Mayo, Galway, and Tipperary, and the caretakers that are watching these evicted farms and inhabiting these homesteads are the bats and the owls, and God help the man who dares to go near one of them (cheers)." Is that worse than the speech of Nally, who compared the conduct of such men to the robber soldier on Calvary? Is that worse than what Walsh says, that "if such a man be found in your midst don't sell to him or buy from him. Look upon him with scorn, as an unclean thing"? Is that worse than what O'Sullivan said—"If there be an eviction, let no man take that farm. You pledged yourselves not to take a farm from which anyone was evicted. You pledged yourselves never to buy any article which the sheriffs may offer for sale. If there be an auction let the sheriff hold the sale, but let nothing be bought. Let no man take any farm of land, even if he get it for nothing. If there is anybody mean enough to despise the calls of his country, shun him as you would a tiger. He is a moral tiger; for he sucks the blood of you and your little ones. You must hold up your hands and pledge yourselves that you will never take any farm in the future." (Hands held up.) Walsh, at Doolague, "Point out with scorn any man who will be guilty of such an act. I will go further, and ask that you will not speak to him or that you will not sit at the same side of the church with him, in fact, that you will look upon him as the enemy of the Irish race." I ask you, knowing the people as well as you do—I ask you how any man preaching these sentiments, how any man animated by these sentiments, can ever venture to say the Lord's Prayer, or venture to make the sign of the Cross. Gordon says at Miltown—"Lay your hand on your breast and say if the land you have been working on were taken from you to-morrow would you not harbour revenge in your bosom. I say let there be no scoundrel amongst you to take the land. Look upon him with scorn and contempt. Do not buy or sell with that man. Have the curse of God upon any man who will take the land of his neighbour, allow the grass to grow, and let it wither. Let no man be allowed to cut it. We will watch every man who will dare to take a scythe to cut it (voices, 'we will cut the hands off him, we will cut the elbows off him')." And then Walsh says—"Should anyone be so unfortunate as to be evicted from his holding, let the land be waste; and should it be taken by some bailiff or hanger-on, do not recognize him. Do not speak to him, but treat him as an enemy of the Irish people (a voice—'Give him a ball')." Mr. Walsh, at Kiltullagh, on the 22nd August, again says—"I want a pledge from you that if anyone is mean enough to take the land from which another is evicted, you will not recognize him in the public market-place, or at church on Sunday; that you will not buy from him or sell to him; and, in fact, that you will look upon him as the enemy of his country, and that you will leave his corn uncut and himself to wither under the people's curse." A new feature then comes in. Up to that time—up to September—the shopkeepers

and traders had not been threatened. In September the shopkeepers and traders who would sell goods to these persons who were politically excommunicated were denounced as traitors and informers. Threats began to be used against them. It is impossible to shut our eyes to what was going on. Of course we saw what was called the manifesto of the commercial travellers of England, who subscribed to the Land League. Mr. Walsh says—"I ask you not to speak to him, or buy from him, or sell to him, or recognize him in public markets or streets, or buy from the shopkeeper where he deals. Don't interfere with him, but treat him as an enemy of his country. You must not reap his corn or dig his potatoes. Leave his corn uncut, his potatoes undug, and himself to wither under a people's curse." That is taken from the banners. At Bohola, at Miltown—"Leave their corn uncut, their potatoes undug, and they themselves to wither under a people's curse." That was drawn up, I say, by the same literary men—men of literary ability, who knew the passions of the Irish people. This was, I say, to incite the wild Irish boys of Galway and the wild boys of Mayo, who believe themselves heroes in buying their Deringers and revolvers, and wreathing the shamrock on them, if one of them rides the world of a tyrant. Mr. Brennan, at Clonmacnoise, says—"Above all and before all you must refuse to take a farm from which a man has been evicted (cheers). Let that farm remain waste, let the grass rot upon it; let the crops rot upon it; and if any man is found to take it, or even work upon it, there are a thousand and one ways in which you can punish him—that you can punish him without transgressing the law. I look on this as an educational movement, that is necessary to teach the people their rights." Yes, forsooth, this is an educational—a constitutional agitation. I wonder when the learned counsel was speaking, when my friend, Mr. Macdonogh, in eloquent and proper language described the principles of constitutional agitation, I wonder John Dillon did not rise in court and say, "I despise that doctrine;" I wonder Davitt did not rise and say, "that is not my doctrine." Davitt and Devoy would not pollute their lips by taking the oath of allegiance. "The man who takes a farm from which another is evicted, he will not only be looked upon as a black sheep, but will be looked upon as an abomination of abominations, and that no decent man will marry with his family, and that he will be looked upon as false to his country and his religion." So said Mr. Brennan, at Clonmacnoise. "False to his friends and to everything that a good and honest man should support." Is that worse than Nally, who at Cloneal, proposes a resolution—"That no man shall take a farm from which a tenant has been evicted for an unjust or excessive rent, or in any other way violate the principles of the Land League; that we consider any man who takes a farm from which another has been evicted or which has been surrendered for the nonpayment of unjust rent, as an enemy of the people, and we look

upon him as worse than the robber soldier that pierced Christ on the cross." Mr. O'Sullivan, at Riversville, says, "You know your rights, and you know you have nothing to do but in cases like these to assemble together to denounce the land grabber if he does not give up the land (cries of 'Maim him, shoot him.')

No, do not speak to him at all. If he goes into chapel keep away from him, and make a ring round him that everybody may see him. Do not buy or sell from him, and after a little time he will be very g'ad to give up the farm and go back into honest life again. I will not, in the words of the poet, pray that earth may refuse him a home and heaven its God. I will not, for that would be giving too much importance to him. I would rather let him be amongst you a marked man, a man upon whom every man will look as if 'TRAITOR' was marked with a brand upon his forehead." That is O'Sullivan at Riversville. That is Nally: that is Boyton—Boyton of course, the secretary, the organizer, attending more meetings than any other—he attends twenty-two. Mr. Parnell, the leader, is infinitely worse. Mr. Curran says "Nally meant murder if in earnest, but do you believe him?" Mr. Parnell is in earnest. What does he say in Ennis—"Now what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted—(various shouts, among which, 'kill him' and 'shoot him')—Now I think I heard somebody say shoot him, but I wish to point out to you a very much better way, a more Christian and a more charitable way which will give the lost sinner an opportunity of repenting. When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted you must shun him on the roadside when you meet him, you must shun him in the streets of the town, you must shun him at the shop-counter, must shun him in the fair and in the market-place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral coventry." That is the aristocratic policy—"By isolating him from the rest of his kind, as if he were the leper of old." Gentlemen of the jury, according to the Old Testament, the sick lepers, of whom we read there, were treated in that cruel manner. But under the Christian dispensation, in the state of society in which we live, there is now no disease, however hideous, for which there is not provided charity. And even if there were now leprosy in Dublin and in London, the best and the noblest in the land—the noblest ladies in the land, amongst the Sisters of Charity and Mercy, would attend and care with sanctifying touch the wounds and sores of the leper. Mr. Parnell is beyond all charity—he has isolated himself from that charity—as he would isolate the poor farmer from the rest of his kind, "as if he were the leper of old." He adds—"Show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it, if the population of a county in Ireland carry out this doctrine, that there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men within the county, and to transgress your unwritten code of laws." This is the new gospel which the Attorney-General referred to when he made his most reverent allusion to the "Sermon on the Mount." Then, copying

again the words of the banners, and following the composition on the banner at Bohola, and Paudeen O'Rafferty's advice, Mr. Sullivan says—"Stand to each other like brothers, follow the advice that has been given you here to-day, leave those farms to grow thistles and rushes, and if anyone is base enough to go in on them, 'shun him ('shoot him'); let him be as an outcast amongst you, and his life will be a life of shame and a life of misery, and the shame will attach not only to himself, but to his children and his children's children." Mr. Boyton at Athy, says—"We will show you how we will settle the land question. Already a dozen of model farms exist in the county Tipperary. They are model farms because they are standing there a living witness that the landlord dare not till the land, and cannot get a living man to strike a spade or plough in it, and he dare not, he is too cowardly, to go there and till it himself. What has brought about this condition of things. Intelligent organization. Organization without which this meeting and all such meetings will be worthless, and the excitement and the enthusiasm of the time will pass away just as these men to-morrow will take down these flags and this platform, and it will all vanish, and the land grabbers, and the land thieves who are here amongst you will go back to their evil devilish work, of propping up landlordism by taking land. I have had a lesson or two since I came to Kildare, one most particular and painful one. I saw a farm on which was created a homestead from the earnings of the father of the present occupiers. A day or two ago I saw that widow woman and her children thrust out by the sheriff, and by the Duke of Leinster's minnions and tools with forty bayonets of the police. Twelve hours after that woman was evicted from her homestead I saw that man's cattle that had been looking for it when the woman was in difficulties on it (groans). I am here to-day in Athy, within a few hours' journey of that farm, and standing on this platform to-day I say that while I will counsel men to avoid crimes of violence, in the words of James Redpath, that man must be socially excommunicated. I want that man, when he meets his fellow man in the street, if he be an honest Irishman, to look at him with scorn and contempt, for the man to-day in the face of this great movement who will take his neighbour's land or his farm, as you will be called upon to pledge yourselves not to do directly, the man who does that betrays the cause of Ireland, and he is a traitor to the cause of the people, and the cause of the people to-day in Ireland is the cause of God, of justice and of humanity (cheers). I do not intend to make a speech. I want to tell you we have rank weeds growing round us here on the fair soil that was once blessed by the footsteps of St. Bridget. We must root out these weeds. It will not do to pull the tops off them. We must destroy the land-grabbing in Kildare, and I tell you now, had I been in possession of the facts, the whole facts of the evictions that have taken place here two months ago, these evictions would never have been carried out as they were (cheers). If these people

have been thrust out from their homesteads created by their own industry, if there is wrong or injustice in their case, I shall particularly call upon every man here at this meeting to-day to hold up and place a protest against the unjust evictions. I shall call upon him by his soul to say that no wretch be found base enough to take that land or occupy it (cheers.) Standing here, I publicly proclaim the lands of the Verschoyle estate from which these people were evicted, and I say that the man who takes that I will hold a indignation meeting at his door if he were the Lord Duke of Leinster himself. I will teach him a lesson that has been taught his base, vile, miscreant class throughout Ireland. It is not the landlord, mark you, it is the men that the landlord that thrust these people out that would have to step in and take their place. In the portion of Tipperary I refer to has been organized there is no living man would even dare to think of taking a farm from which his neighbour has been thrust out, in fact, under no circumstances there to-day would a man take a farm from which another had been evicted, justly or unjustly." Well, then, I find that these expressions, originating on the banners, adopted then by persons not in so high a position, are finally adopted *verbatim* by Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Biggar. Mr. Dillon, at Templemore, says—"By this united action if the landlord in reply to your protest that you will not pay more than a fair rent, if he serves notices of eviction, then report the case to the Land League, in Dublin, and we will have it out with him, and if he evicts any man, looking at this meeting here to-day, I believe that in this and the surrounding estates, that if he evicts any man, so far from adding to the rental of his estates, he will have an idle farm on his hands, he will have on his hands what I have heard described as a 'model' farm, that is a farm which no living thing will go on, to show what the power of the public opinion of the people is." That is, according to Mr. Dillon's mind, that if a living man dare go on it he is doomed to death. Mr. Biggar, at Castleisland, said—"You can take care that the land will be of no value to anybody else, you can take care that the cattle shall not be cruelly treated, but that they can stray off the land; the fences will fall down, and there will be no benefit in having that land. These are all means which you can take. Another means was taken in Limerick the other day. A farmer had taken a farm from which the occupier had been evicted. He took the produce to Limerick market and could get no buyer. You can take care that any of these shall be a marked man, and shall suffer instead of gain." Mr. Healy, at Bantry, says—"Well, the next man that is evicted you will do something for him. And I would like you to think of the next man that is evicted; and when he is evicted we will go and hold a meeting on his farm, and we will dare any man to take the farm." Mr. Sheridan, at Carraroe, said—"If any wretch be found in the community base enough or low enough to take a farm which has been thrown up from inability to pay rent; if any wretch is low enough and disregardful enough to take the farm—I say if he go to fair

or market, hiss him, hoot him. If he has a shop let no man go in and leave a shilling there. Do as they did in Tubbercurry the other day. The land-grabber, Farrel Cully, has cattle to sell; is there a man in the place to buy them? The cattle were left unsold, and Cully had to go into his rat-hole. You cannot, except constitutionally, resist this. By your combined action, you will break down the cursed and unholy head of landlordism in the west of Ireland." Mr. Brennan, at Westport, says—"You must refuse to take the farm of the evicted. You must let that farm remain there idle as a testimony to the fidelity of the people, But should there be such a wretch in the community found to deal in stolen goods, to make money upon the misfortunes of his countrymen, then you must visit him with the severest sentence of social ostracism. You must not allow your children to speak to his children. You must not deal with the baker who would sell him bread, or the butcher who would sell him meat. You must refuse to enter a house the threshold of which he would be allowed to cross. You must leave him severely alone and let him wither under a people's curse." Gentlemen, again, remember the lines of Moore:—

" Oh ! for a tongue to curse the slave,
Whose treason like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the counsels of the brave,
And blasts them in their hour of might.
His country's curse, his children's shame,
Outcast of virtue, peace, and fame."

That meeting was at Westport. What do we find in the *Nation* of the 29th of May. There is a paragraph in the *Nation* headed—"Evictions in County Mayo."—"A man named M'Donogh, living at Balla, county Mayo, who had taken a farm lately in the occupation of a widow, has been summoned by the Branch National Land League to explain the act, and to abandon all claims, forfeiting a year's rent. Notices are posted up threatening the life of any one taking a farm." That was published in the *Nation* of the 29th May. Mr. Dillon, at Holyford, said—"You must stand together and not allow one man or two men to be crushed. You must all go in the same boat, and sink or swim together, and if a landlord attempts to clear the whole of his estate, let him, and we will build little cottages round about on the borders of the estate (cheers). If you stick together, I do not believe any man will be found brave enough to come in and take possession of your farms. Now when any man is evicted unjustly, and after the Land League have declared that it is unjust to evict him, what are you to do with the farm? Turn it into what we call a model farm, a farm on which no living thing can go." Mr. Biggar, at Bailieborough, says—"When we talk about the curse that falls upon a man who commits murder, I think a similar curse falls upon a man who has the cupidity to take the land from which another has been evicted." Mr. Brennan, at Carrick-on-Shannon, says—"You must refuse to take a farm from

which another has been evicted. A man that takes such a farm is infinitely worse than the man who has caused the eviction; and should such a man be found in the country, then you should visit him with the severest sentence of social ostracism; the vengeance of the people should fall heavy upon him. There are a thousand ways in which you can punish him without violating the law. There is no law to compel you to speak to him; there is no law to compel you to sell him goods; there is no law to compel you to deal with the man who would sell him goods. This is now the programme of the Land League." Mr. Dillon, at Clonmel, said—"If evictions are attempted, communicate with the League in Dublin, and it will defend the farmer in the Court, and if he is defeated there and evicted, we will put a ban on the land. Call a meeting, and pledge the neighbourhood that no one shall touch it or speak to any man (cheers). Then we not only prevent it being touched, but prevent it being used. If it is put to any use some man must be employed to take care of it; let that man be outlawed, and let no man speak to him or deal with him, and you will bring him to reason very soon." Mr. Biggar, at the meeting in Bawnboy, county Cavan, on the 30th October, said—"The grass should have been left on the land (hear, hear). Any tenant farmer or any labourer who assists to take the grass from any land from which the occupying tenant has been evicted, or in any case in which the landlord has acted unfairly towards the land, is a curse to the country in which he lives, and entitled to the reprobation of every one who knows him (a voice—'Down with him')." Mr. Sheridan, at the same meeting, said—"If you see him at church or chapel, fair, or market, pass him—hate him. Let him be a thing of loathing; a leper so unclean as not to be fit to be touched or associated with by any of his fellow-men. If he has cattle to sell, let no man bid for them; or cattle to buy, tell the unclean wretch to move away from you (laughter). If he has potatoes to dig, or stubble to dig, or corn to cut, or anything else, let him go out and do it himself (laughter). If he has a shop, and offers goods for sale, let no man who has respect for God or country leave a penny in the house (cheers and laughter), Let him eat his stock-in-trade; when that is done, let him go away." Mr. Leamy, at a meeting in Tipperary, on the 31st October, said:—"It is in your power to render evictions unprofitable. You may not be able to throw a man on his hands, but you can leave his farm as desolate as a tenantless grave, and if any man should be found base enough to take a farm from which another is unjustly evicted, you know how to deal with him. Do him no hurt or harm. Leave him alone—leave him to his conscience and his God. You need not buy with him nor sell with him—you need not give him a help or even a greeting should you meet him on the roadside, at the market place, or even at the church door you need not say, 'God save you.' Do not visit him in his weddings or his wakes, in his joys or in his sorrows—let him feel that he stands alone. If now that you are combining for this great, and, I trust, final struggle against landlordism, any dastard should desert from your ranks to take the

landlords' side, let him feel that he stands alone—a renegade against the order he betrayed (cheers).”

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—What was the speech you read before that ?

Sergeant *Heron*.—It was from Mr. Sheridan's speech at Bawnboy, on the 30th October, 1880. Mr. Sheridan was introduced as the representative of the Land League in Dublin. Gentlemen of the jury, at many of those meetings the name of Mr. O'Connell was mentioned—the name of that great man. As I said yesterday, the gallant rebels of Wexford took to the hill sides with their priests, and fought and died for their country. They never entered into a conspiracy not to pay their rents. Daniel O'Connell dreamed of restoring the independence of his country. “Dreamed,” say I. He toiled and worked for it all his life. He founded that magnificent organization—the Repeal Association—and he hoped to see Ireland governed by the Queen, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. An attempt was made to use that vast organization, at the head of which were some of the first men in Ireland, and some of Ireland's truest patriots—an attempt was once made to use it for a strike as against rents. Daniel O'Connell denounced it in his place, and expelled Mr. O'Connor from the Repeal Association for having ventured to propose a strike against rents. That fact should not be forgotten. It was said indeed, that the prosecution in this Court killed O'Connell. We all know what drove him from political power. We all know the party—now that he has passed away, to be mentioned as a matter of history. We all know how the Young Ireland party rose against him, and Daniel O'Connell died in Genoa, a broken-hearted beggar, execrated by the Young Ireland which he had nursed and sustained. I mention his great name because it was mentioned constantly here. O'Connell did say that the man who commits a crime gives strength to the enemy, and he did over and over again insist on the excitable people of Ireland that they should commit no crime, and above all “Thou shalt not kill—thou shalt do no murder.” Every time I find his name mentioned in the reports of these speeches it is mentioned with contempt, and every one says that he does not agree with the doctrine of O'Connell. It is the old story about the dead lion—these people casting miserable aspersions on his memory. Gentlemen of the jury, I said that in this matter, although Mr. Parnell speaks, as I always see he does in smooth language—Mr. Biggar in very smooth language—and Mr. Dillon in eloquent language,—these three take up and use what I call the treasonable banners, and weave them into their speeches, and insist on carrying out this conspiracy, against whom? Against the tenants of Ireland, to make them do the behests of the Land League, and adopt the new gospel of hate and murder throughout the country. Mr. Biggar says, at Kinlough—“Then, suppose the matter has gone to another step worse, suppose the tenant is finally evicted from his holding, then the local Land Association should have its members spread through every townland in the whole country, and

they will take care that if anyone is vicious enough to take this land from which a former tenant has been dispossessed, that such representations shall be made to anyone who has the viciousness to take this land, and bring such representations to bear upon him that he will not take this land—that it will lie waste, and also will make such representation that no man should work on the land on behalf of the landlord—such representation to all the neighbours that they would not send cattle to graze on it. They should take care also that if the land is allowed to grow in grass that no man should win the hay and move the hay from the ground on which it grew.” Then a man in the crowd says—“A big windy night might blow it away.” Mr. Harris, at Loughlin, says—“Taboo such a man, ye must isolate such a man, ye must leave him that he and his friends will come to their knees for to beg—to beg to be apologised for the crimes they have committed against the people and against the country.” Mr. Biggar, at Dungannon, makes another speech;—the idea of such a speech being made in Dungannon. He says—“As far as your influence extends, take care that no one else takes the land from which your friends have been evicted. I need not point out to you the means which should be used—you all know them—there are fifty ways—do not speak to him—do not speak to his family—hoot him, and go the other side of the road—(here there was a tumult in the crowd)—do not buy from him—do not sell to him—put him entirely in what is called “coventry;” and the result will be that it will become so unpopular in the country for any man to take land from which another has been evicted that the fact is, the thing will become impossible, and it will cease to be practised. Then, suppose the landlord attempts to cultivate this land himself—well, I need not tell you, there are many ways in which you can make it uncomfortable for him in regard to cultivation by himself. Let him plough the land himself—let him sow it himself—then, after it is ploughed and sowed, let him himself gather in the crops, and take care that anyone who works for him gets no countenance from any of you. In that way you will make it impossible for this man to make out of the land.” Gentlemen, have they not over and over again, I repeat, boasted of their guilt, and when a man still boasts of his guilt—when a strike against rent is avowed—when the threat now is that the strike is to be against all rents on certain events happening—again, I say, out of their own mouths you must judge them, convict them if you believe them, and acquit them if you can. What were the means by which this conspiracy was to be carried out? In one word, by terror—by combination and by terror. Mr. Dillon, at Kildare, says:—“If the people desire to put down landlordism, the only road to this is to have an organization in the country, that every farmer shall belong to a branch of the Land League that exists throughout the country, and that all the young men shall be prepared to march to the meetings, and in proper order too. And when we have that organization perfected, let the word go out that no farm from which any man has

been evicted shall be touched or used until the rightful owner shall be put back again (cheers.) In the county of Mayo, where the organization is pretty strong, we have many a farm lying idle, from which no rent can be drawn, and there they shall lie; and if the landlord shall put cattle on them, the cattle won't prosper very much. You must teach the landlords that if they evict tenants they will not be the richer, but the poorer; and if any man that comes and takes the farm from which a tenant is evicted, show him in a hundred ways that it would be better for him not to have taken it (cheers; a voice—"Give him the ball"), without raising a finger to harm him. All your meetings will be useless except they are followed by work—unless you work at home by organization in every townland. We ask of you in every townland two men who are not afraid of any man. Give each of these a book with the names of every man in that townland. They will go round to all these men and ask everyone of them to join the Land League; and in this way every man who refuses is known to turn his back upon the people. I believe that every nine out of ten will join (cheers). When any man gets into difficulties the Land League helps him, and if he is turned out the League will assist him. These organizers shall report to the branch of the Land League how many men they can march to these meetings, and they shall be able to march to these meetings like a regiment of soldiers. There will be more effect in 200 young men marching to a meeting under the command of their leaders than in twenty speeches. Let us then gather together the leaguers of the country and march them to the meetings, and I am sure it will stay the landlords before they put you out (cheers). This is the work we lay out for the League this autumn, because it is in its infancy. And I will tell you what the League will do if the landlords refuse to do justice to the people. When we have enrolled 300,000 Irishmen as members of the League, if the landlords insist on not doing justice to the people, we will give out the word to strike out against rent entirely, and pay no more until justice is done to them (cheers). With 300,000 people enrolled in the Land League no rent can be enforced in this country, even by all the armies of England (cheers)."

O'Sullivan, at Dooneen, says, "Let there be a Carraroe in every village if necessary, and a united branch of the Land League," then there was a cry of "We will." "It has been got up to prevent people paying any rent until the land question is settled. It is absolutely necessary that you must act like one man in this business." Dillon, in Cork city, says—"Here is the card we circulated in thousands in Ireland, and every farmer through the country has this card in his house. First, to put an end to rack-renting and eviction. 'Is that assassination?' Second, to effect a change in the land system in Ireland as will put it into the power of every Irish farmer to hold the land he tills on fair terms. Well now the means we propose—I suppose the landlords will say it is by shooting the landlords, and the means are—Organization amongst the farmers for the purpose of self-defence, to purchase no cattle or goods which may be seized for the non-payment of an impossible rent, and by

public meetings, to show the injustice of the present system ; a resolute demand for the reduction of excessive rent. Fourth, temperate but firm, resistance to oppression. These are the means which we propose to adopt ; and I may point out that the means which have proved already more effective to protect him against oppression than years of agitation is, that of refusing to take a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted, and refusing to purchase cattle. Now, I should like to explain that last passage, temperate, but firm, resistance, means that when an estate is rack-rented, and when we advise the farmers on that estate to tell their landlords they will not pay that rent, we do not mean that we shall resist the police in their attempts to carry out the law. I do not wish to expose our people. I do not consider they can successfully carry it out, nor does it mean to shoot landlords, nor does it mean to commit injury to property, but it means that we can get up, . . . that they will defy the landlords, and say ‘ This much you shall get, and no more.’ Then comes into play our other principles. If he evicts the whole estate, the . . . support the farmers, and hold meeting after meeting with the object of not taking the farms—not to assassinate any man, but to bring public opinion to bear upon him by not speaking to his children and refusing to purchase or deal with him at fairs. These are the rights of the farmers ; and we have tried in several localities, we have succeeded so far to keep these farms empty.” Boyton, at Athy, says, “ I came here commissioned by Charles Stewart Parnell to establish the Athy branch of the Land League, and I have done it. You must organise every townland ; in each townland one or two men ought to go round with a list of the farmers of that townland, and ask each man will he not join the Land League or will he desert the people. Give every man a chance to stand by his people, and organise in that way the farmers of every townland.” Sexton, at Oulart, says—“ Bind yourselves together with bands of steel, which will unite every man of the farming class.” Sullivan says—“ We will so organise the Irish counties, as that they will want extra police in every county in Ireland.” Walsh, at Bantry, says—“ In conclusion let me ask you to-day, each and every man of you, to enrol yourselves as members of the Land League, and I would ask you still further to march to the meetings with measured step and military precision, to go hand-in-hand in your masses—

———“dense, resolute, strong,
To war against treason, oppression, and wrong.”

Parnell, at Longford, says—“ The Land League, the National Land League of Ireland which I represent here to-day, has not yet decided where along this line we shall halt. The extreme limit of our demands when the time comes must be measured, as I have said repeatedly in other places already, by the result of your exertions this winter.” Sheridan, at Carrick-on-Shannon, says—“ Now, let me see that in future, at the next election of poor law guardians, no man shall

go in to represent any division but a Land Leaguer ; let me find at the election of town councillors that no man will get a place there but a Land Leaguer. Let me find that when a brewer or a distiller in Ireland shall begin to vend his whiskey or his porter, you shall not drink it if they are not Land Leaguers. If any man declares against the principles of the Land League, shut his house up if he dares." Here is a conspiracy against trade. Then he continues—"If any fellow should go behind the back of an evicted tenant, and attempt by any sort of means, direct or indirect, to seek the possession of the evicted farm, let him be pointed at at fair and market; let him be hissed; let him be hooted; do not strike him; do not break the law. You can point him out, too, as I saw done the other day at the fair of Tobercurry. When a land-grabber sent in his cattle to be sold there, the bellman went out and said, 'Mr. So-and-so has sent his cattle to the fair; is there any man to buy them from the land-grabber?' They were moved around from one part of the fair to the other, a crowd of farmers followed them—the land-grabber's cattle. They had to be taken home, I believe, and turned out on grass, or I do not know what else he might have done with them; but when he wanted his horse shod there was nobody to shoe him; when he wanted his potatoes dug he had to go out and to work his burly little carcass at the potatoes himself. When he wants some turf to boil his potatoes for dinner he has to go and put the creel on his back; nobody will sell to him; nobody will buy from him; and by-and-by, when his stock-in-trade is consumed he will be able to pack up his bundle and to get out. By this sort of organization you will be able to break down this system which an armed revolution might fail in prostrating. But above all things, there is one thing I must tell you. You have to rely upon yourselves as men. You have to organize the strength and manhood of your country together, and while moving along in this constitutional agitation, you must make up your minds that, come weal or woe, that once we are a united people, if we do not get our rights and our liberties constitutionally, like earnest, stalwart men, conscious of the dignity of their demands, conscious of a feeling that moves within their breast, and conscious of their own rights of freedom and independence, that you must at any cost have Ireland a free and independent country." Gentlemen of the jury, is it any wonder that the learned and able counsel for the defence—Mr. Macdonogh, Mr. Samuel Walker, Mr. M'Laughlin, and Mr. Peter O'Brien—not one of them read a single line of those speeches; that task was left to the boldest in courage—to my friend, Mr. Curran. We, of course, could see what was going on. Mr. Samuel Walker is a sporting man, and he will understand the allusion. In the early part of the trial, they were under Mr. Macdonogh's lead; to use a sporting allusion, they were rather like a lot of wild Irish red setters.

Mr. Curran.—That is not the case, my lord.

Sergeant Heron.—Wild Irish red setters, spoiling every good point by jealously racing and rushing over it, and steadily refusing to back. At all

events in the latter end they obeyed the word of order from the heroic old chief—and properly did so—and steadily obeyed his order not to mark or touch the evidence ; but Mr. Curran, as “ forlorn hope,” gallantly went at it with the courage of his name and race, and did it right well indeed ; but he is the only man, I repeat, who touched upon the evidence.

Mr. *Dillon*.—I beg your pardon, Sergeant Heron.

Sergeant *Heron*.—Oh, I admit my friend did make that capital point about the shoemaker, and the Attorney-General sticking to his last. We will never hear the last of that. Of course he did ; but, gentlemen of the jury, remember now that significant question from the Bench, “ Where is Hamlet ? ” Where is Hamlet ?—where is Hamlet ?—because the play was being performed with the part of Hamlet left out. A very remarkable thing. I suppose it is only a good story. I don't see how the play could be performed on the stage, without the part. It is performed here. That speech of Sheridan's I have read it for the Crown. Suppose my learned and able friend sitting behind me, with all the acuteness of vigorous youth—I have not used that expression old friend of Mr. Macdonogh, nothing of the kind—he is my young friend—although not quite so young as he was twenty years ago, but he is more vigorous than ever, watching the case with the vigilance and acuteness of the most able Nisi Prius lawyer in the United Kingdom. That speech of Sheridan. What could he say about it ? Is not that boycotting ? Is not that a conspiracy against trade ? What is the meaning of this :—“ Let me find that when a brewer or a distiller in Ireland shall begin to vend his whiskey or his porter, you shall not drink it if they are not Land Leaguers—if any man declares against the principles of the Land League, shut his house up, if he dares.” “ You must, at any cost ”—that is, at any cost of rebellion or high treason—“ have Ireland a free country.” There, now, you see the reason why these speeches were not read. How can counsel for the traversers read speeches to show the guilt when they are instructed to deny the guilt, which cannot be denied ? That would bear ten times as powerfully against the defendants read by Mr. Macdonogh than by me—ten times as powerfully, because it is a confession—

A *Juror*.—Is that a constable's report ?

Sergeant *Heron*.—No, sir. That is the report of the Carrick-on-Shannon meeting, reported by a gentleman belonging to Gurney's staff. The reporter was Mr. Harry—you may remember him. I may say now that really these gentlemen—the London Irish reporters—many of them are Irish living over there—have, to a certain extent, as regards their accent, became often, as many Irishmen do, more English than the English themselves. But the accuracy of that report could not be questioned ; or, I will say, the accuracy of any of the reports, and I will tell you why, gentlemen of the jury. You all saw that properly the defendants were represented by three gentlemen who understood everything about reporting. No

people in the world, no counsel at the Bar, even in England or Ireland, understand reporting better than Mr. M'Laughlin, Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Adams. Of course they knew what Gurney's staff was—the marvellous accuracy with which these gentlemen in every quarter of the world report what is going on—many of them Irishmen—the staff of English reporters, they have been seen in all the battlefields of the world, at the barricades of Paris, jotting down their notes, while the bullets were flying about them. There is no danger here—and the report is perfectly accurate. With reference to the Constabulary reports, who challenged their accuracy?—though, of course, not so complete as that of Gurney's staff. They were cross-examined by comparison with the *Freeman's Journal*, and I must say that my learned friend, Mr. Adams, did ably cross-examine them on the subject. He well understood how to do it, but I fail to see the logic of proving the inaccuracy of the Constabulary reports by alleging that they “cribbed” from the *Freeman's Journal*. I could not see the logic of it. Perhaps I was wrong to expect it. At all events, they were examined, they were cross-examined, they told frankly and freely what they saw. I must say the appearance of those young men on the table appeared to be most creditable to them. They are the sons of Irish farmers, of Irish peasants, they appeared to me in manner, demeanour, education, and courtesy to show an example, I will say, to many people. And there they were—some of that body of the loyal Irish Constabulary, on whom and on the gallant Irish regiments here—now that society is reduced almost to its elements—we depend for our lives and property. Gentlemen, as regards the accuracy of the Constabulary reports and the accuracy of the reports of Gurney's staff they cannot be questioned. These gentlemen were cross-examined, properly cross-examined, sifted thoroughly—I don't object to a little roughness being used towards a witness, it is a test of truth under certain conditions, which I say has not been abused in this trial. And Mr. M'Laughlin, Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Adams, with all the keenness and ingenuity that practice and skill gives them, they cross-examined them. Have not the Constabulary borne the test? As regards the accuracy of the reports of Gurney's staff, they are unquestioned. In no speech was the accuracy of these reports questioned, and allow me to make this observation,—the *Freeman's Journal*—as appeared by the cross-examination of Mr. Adams—the reporters of the *Freeman's Journal* did properly omit any bits of strong language, any bits savouring of murder or treason, because a respectable journal thought it right not to publish such things. But you remember Mr. Nolan's cross-examination of one of Gurney's staff. He actually made him read out a bit—I won't now repeat the gentleman's name—in which he recommended the landlords getting the point of the bayonet, and that gentleman is by no means obliged to him for that. That bit was not read by the Attorney-General. In the same way he caused another bit to be read—a strong observation, I don't wish to repeat it now; and in reference to one speech, cross-examined from the *Freeman's Journal*—in reference

to a priest—a most intimate friend of my own—at the Tipperary meeting. It turned out in regard to that speech not one word of it was spoken at that meeting. And his lordship would have allowed the evidence that the speech was made at the meeting. The reporter of the *Freeman's Journal* could have been called as easily as possible, he would have been allowed to look at the newspaper if his notes were lost, as these prints were used in evidence by the shorthand writers on the table, and as the *Daily Express* was used by the gentleman who proved a Land League meeting in Dublin for a purpose their lordships know. Therefore not one single reporter of the *Freeman's Journal* has been examined to contradict Gurney's staff, or that accurate and respectable body of young men of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who learned shorthand as part of their education, and who have shown that quickness of eye, and that quickness of hand, and cleverness about it which has made the gallery of the House of Commons long since, or I may say now that gallery (indicating Press gallery), well known and respected all over the world for genius and accuracy. Gentlemen, so much as regards the Constabulary—so much as regards the combination and the threats of terror and of violence. It is not less a conspiracy or a strike against rent, because it savours of high treason and of Communism—this little ripple in Ireland of the great wave of Communism in Western Europe, which tried to burn Paris once, and may ultimately destroy western civilization. This conspiracy in Ireland for a strike against rent could not by any possibility succeed unless its teachings were associated with Communism and infidelity. It is very remarkable in the progress of the movement (about the month of September) the way the attack begins about the men who bought land in the Landed Estates Court. I always thought that with a natural desire for the preservation of property, I always thought it was an honourable thing, and to be encouraged, that the lands said to be locked up in the hands of idle and improvident landlords—the Irish landlords—should be set free, and that respectable traders and shopkeepers, or farmers, who had saved money, should be allowed to spend their two or three thousand pounds in the purchase of land, have a home and farm, should become an independent class, not very small proprietors, but an independent class of men living on their land, having some tenants and living peaceably and quietly with those about them. Gentlemen of the jury, I have heard a great deal of observations, during the progress of this trial, upon the laws of other countries, and in those speeches and in this Court you have been told over and over again that landlordism has been abolished everywhere in Europe except in England and Ireland, and that landlords do not exist. Gentlemen of the jury, you are told in these speeches that the landlords were abolished in France—

Mr. *Sullivan*.—My lord, no one stated that no landlords existed in other countries—quite the contrary; no one stated it.

Mr. *Curran*.—We said there were very few, save in England.

Mr. *M'Laughlin*.—No counsel in the case being found a lunatic by inquisition, for there was no such statement made.

Sergeant *Heron*.—Here we are again (laughter).

Mr. *M'Laughlin*.—Of course I mean the present company excepted.

Sergeant *Heron*.—Gentlemen, you see the old insubordination of racing over the point and spoiling it, and how each counsel contradicts the other. Walsh says, "I tell you the land of Ireland is yours. If you stick to the Land League under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell the land of Ireland will be in the hands of the people. We were told that we were speaking Communism, Nihilism, and a hundred other isms because we told the people that the land of Ireland, like the land of every other country, was made for the people who cultivated it, the same right as you have to the air, the water, and the sunshine." Would counsel for the defendants read that statement, or what counsel for the defendants could justify it, or what counsel for the defendants will say now that this has not a tinge of Communism and robbery? Walsh, at Ballinlough, says—"I have heard that a great many landlords have bought their land in the Landed Estates Court. They say they don't hold the land under the title of Cromwell. I hold their title is not good also. If a man sells a stolen horse, and another man comes into the fair of Ballinlough and buys the horse, I say he is not entitled to keep him. In the same way the land was yours." These men speaking to these excitable people living on the land tell them the title to this land (although he does not know whether it is or not) is Cromwell's title, who cleared Ireland, who confiscated Ireland. But that was in the year 1649, and the succeeding years. They compare the respectable farmer or shopkeeper who dares to buy in the Landed Estates Court, and holds the land that he has purchased with the fruits of his honest industry, to the purchaser of a stolen horse. He says—"The lands is yours, and if a man buys a horse, knowing the horse has been stolen, he is not entitled to keep it." And in the same way, from the platform of the Land League, he says—"The land is yours." Is not this Communism—that property is robbery? Brennan, at Milltown, at that remarkable meeting, says:—"These lands you have belongs to you. They belong to you who have saved them with your sweat, and there is nothing morally wrong in saying that you will protect those fruits with your strong right arms." And, speaking at Keadue, he says:—"You have as much right to that land as you have to the free air of Heaven, and any man who goes to take from you the fruits of that land is a robber and plunderer." There are the new rights of the Irish people;—What I call the New Gospel of hate. At the same meeting he says—"The land of Ireland is yours." And Walsh, at Killtullagh, says—"God made the land as he made the water. The land is yours, and no people have the right to that land compared with your right. That land is yours, and Lord this or Lord that has no right to that land, for God

Almighty gave the earth to the children of men." O'Sullivan says at Clonakilty—"What right has landlordism? Come to its rights. Where has it got that right which is the right of the people, which is the right of the land. Is it not the people, the people whom God created to enjoy the fruits of the earth, and who created the fruits of the earth for them, and not for the idlers, the non-workers (cheers); it is the man who tills, the man who labours from year's end to year's end, who is the rightful owner, and it is only by the apathy and disunion, aye, and I must say the ignorance of the people of their rights that has caused them to be appropriated by landlord power in Ireland. We have, to a certain extent at these meetings, and from the public Press, dispelled the ignorance." Walsh, at Ballinageeragh, says—"I hold that the land of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland. Almighty God made the land as he made the air and water for the people. He never ordained that a few lazy and good for nothing individuals should own the land. The only thing the people of Ireland is willing to accept is that the tiller of the soil shall be the owner of the soil." Brennan, at Clonmacnoise, says—"This is not merely a movement on behalf of the tenant-farmers of Ireland against the landlords of Ireland, it is a movement of the workers of Ireland against the class who have been robbing you (cheers), against a class who despise labour in every form. It is the uprising of the democracy of Ireland against the privileged few who have been living on the profits of your labour (cheers). It is the rebellion of men, who, for a long time, not knowing their rights, have bowed under the weight of oppression, and who now, knowing that God did not create them to be the willing slaves of any class, who know that they came into the world with the same rights as him who is called lord, take their stand upon these rights, and hurl defiance into the teeth of their enemies (cheers)"—the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland or the Archbishop of Dublin." And then that defiance is given to the Lord Lieutenant and the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. M'Cabe. The cries of the crowd are "Away with them; down with them." "This meeting here to-day of the labourers, and farmers, and the artizans lays the foundation of a fraternal brotherhood of labour which alone can save man's right, and which guards man's rights from the coercion of monopoly and the tyranny of capital. This is not merely a farmers' movement; it is a movement of the workers of Ireland—of the workers of Ireland against the idlers. It is the duty of the whole industrial classes to join in that combination." Boyton, at Carndonagh, says—"God created the land to be as free to render you the means to sustain life as the air and as the water. From the land on which you are born you are entitled to assistance to sustain life, and from that land created for you, you are entitled to draw the means to feed, to clothe, and to house your wives and families (hear, hear). The man or the men, or the system that steps in between you and that right, steps between God and his ordinances in your regard." Gentlemen of the jury, I shall give you further passages, especially in Mr. Dillon's speeches, increasing, not in wildness, or determination, but in more

open expression, more open defiant expression of his power, especially as he felt his power when the meetings increased to fifteen meetings every Sunday in October and November, and when he boasted every Sunday that a hundred thousand at those meetings were pledging themselves against landlordism in Ireland. Have not the speeches I have read to you, have they not convinced you that this organization was a strike against rent and a strike against landlordism. Biggar, Parnell, Dillon, Boyton in these months I have mentioned said the same thing over and over again. Some persons, like Mr. Sexton, condescended to say the landlords ought to be bought out, but invariably the quotation from John Stuart Mill, "that the land of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland," is given so far, and the passage about the landlords is omitted—"the landlords are entitled to the rent or compensation for its saleable value." Mr. O'Sullivan, at Killorglin, says:—"In Cork, on last Sunday, we pledged the people never to buy the goods or produce of a farm from which a tenant was evicted, or which had been sold for rent." Mr. Biggar, at Dungannon, says:—"First of all, if he brings an eviction, or brings a claim for rent, defend the action in a court of law. If you are beaten in the court of law, and he actually seizes the crops of the man for an unreasonable amount of rent claimed, take care that none of you yourselves, and take care, as far as possible, that no one else bids for any of the produce of that seizure." Are the landlords to be abolished? Do they not give the people, over and over again, the example of France and the French Revolution? And the murderous scenes of the French Revolution—are they not referred to with exulting enthusiasm? That was an example of a compulsory emigration of the landlords on the vastest scale. The entire nobility of France almost—the great majority of the nobility and gentry of France—were on the side of Royalty, and were exiled by the Republicans, and their lands confiscated. If the fourteen traversers had the power now, they would do that in Ireland. I appeal to history. There was once a Parliament in Ireland in which men like Boyton and Gordon and Dillon and many other of the traversers got seats, and for a brief time had it all their own way—the Parliament that James II. summoned to Dublin Castle. And in one short week the tremendous Act of Attainder was passed, by which 1,800 persons were attainted and their lands confiscated. Think you that the men who mention the gentry of the county Galway and Mayo in terms of execration from public platforms and told these old tales about them which they were challenged to prove in court and did not—think you that if they had the power they would not now involve the landlords of Ireland in a vast act of attainder? Look at contemporaneous history. I have seen a gallant nation fighting for its liberties. And when the Servians got rid of the Turks, what was the first law of their Parliament? "No Mahomedan shall hold land in Servian land." I think the defendants had their opinion as to who were the Mahomedans of Ireland. I go now further into their attacks on landlordism. Harris says, at Knockcroghery, "I tell you that we have a long distance to go yet before we can bring

the enemies of our country to our feet. We have borne it for a long time, but we will bear it no longer." Mr. Brennan, at Cardenstown, says—"They cannot restore the two millions of your people they murdered in 1847; and this is the institution and these are the men that some land reformers told us that we should make a fixity in the country. France, when she was getting shut of her landlords, did not give them twenty years' compensation. No, she gave them twenty feet of a rope." And I am told that these speeches did not contain a statement that landlords had been got rid of in France and other countries. Boyton says, at Dunmanway—"We have at the back of that more than great agitators had before. We have moral force, and we are going to use it; and perhaps we have something in the shape of physical force, but we don't want to use it. We may some day come down and see you and talk about something else." That sentiment is received with the loudest cheers. Mr. Sheridan, at Mount Irvine, says—"Now, if a highway robber comes up to rob you, and calls upon you to deliver up your money, you will certainly not surrender your purse if you can hold it. You may surrender your purse, because it is of less value than your life, but is not the power of tyranny of the landlord worse?" Mr. Boyton, at Monasterevan, says—"Mark me, there is not to-day a grand old park in all Ireland surrounded with walls and stately trees, there is not one of them that the man that claims to own could produce a title deed that is not stained with blood." Gordon, at Shrule, talking about landlords, says—"I understand there is a party here who has got up a system of reporting to the Government that the peaceable people of Shrule and its surroundings were determined to cut one another's throats. But I say we have no intention of cutting the throats of our friends, but I don't care if half the throats of our enemies were cut before morning." Not a word of that is disowned by Parnell, nor do they say it is disowned by Dillon, nor do they say it is disowned by the man who is called the shrewd northern merchant—Biggar. He then goes on—"The landlords of this country have been the curse of it. An onslaught has been made on the system which degrades labour in Ireland (great groans, and cries of 'Down with them; to hell with them')." Mr. Gordon, at Bohola, says—"We meet here to-day to denounce the landlords who have plundered you of your land. They say the land belongs to them. I deny that. And then he says—where that placard was—"I don't want you to give a blow of a stone to the landlords, but you may do it if you like." "If we swept them off the face of the earth we would be giving them their due." What is the meaning of talking about the horrors of the French Revolution? No doubt, in every department of fair France the people, I dare say, maddened by oppression—I use the expression of the French historian—maddened by oppression, rose upon their landlords. The landlords were driven from the country, and in every nobleman's house, in every country house in France there was raging rape and massacre. The landlords were hanged at the cross-

roads, they were hanged at the lanterns of Paris. That meant execution—the cry, “To the Lantern!” There were ten thousand people massacred in Paris at the September massacres. Are the horrors of the French Revolution to be let loose in this country because of the failure of the potato crop, and the harvestmen, in consequence of the crop failing in England, not being able for one year to get their usual amount of honest wages? Do not imagine that I am sneering at the distress and miseries of my fellow-countrymen in the West. I know very well they have had a hard time of it for years. For twenty years, in the wild “Joyce country,” in the wilds of Connemara—every year for twenty years—there is a partial famine. I know it well—about spring time, when the potatoes are done, and when the poor cattle almost cease to give milk—there is great poverty and distress borne by those people, humbly and patiently, hard-working, and deserving of every assistance from every honourable man—deserving of every assistance. But is it because this distress exists that we are to have a social revolution, that Communism is to be preached, and the landlords are to be exterminated, robbed of their lands, and murdered? What is the meaning of the reference to France—the abolition of landlordism in France? That is Gordon’s speech. Mr. O’Sullivan, at Knocknagree, repeating, because their unanimity is wonderful, says—“The French peasantry offered their feudal landlords a fair compensation for the land. They did not accept it, and then the peasantry of France gave them the compensation they so richly deserved—a rope’s length at every road crossing (cheers).” And if these men had power—if they were the Executive of an Irish Republic—the Directory—if they were, they have expressed what they would do if they had power. And as they have expressed it and boasted of it, I respectfully tell you that these meetings for these purposes—every one of these meetings, I tell you, in my humble judgment, subject to the correction of the Court, was an unlawful assembly, and every man organising those meetings was engaged in a foul and treasonable conspiracy. That was the speech of Mr. O’Sullivan at Knocknagree. O’Sullivan makes the same speech over again at Riversville—“In France the people set up and did not offer any compensation to these men; they would not have it; but they hanged them, and they did away with them in that way. (Cries of ‘The right way.’ ‘The right way.’) Then he brings in again the same speech about the tiger. He says—“We have no right to say whether it was right or wrong. The French are the best judges of their own work. What we have to do is to settle our own question. You should all do as people do in Bengal, and drive that worst of tigers from your midst.” Does Parnell disapprove of this? Parnell, at Kilkenny, the President of the Land League, and the leader of the movement, says—“The proprietary right of the landlord is the right which he has obtained by force, fraud, and conquest.” And then he is interrupted by prolonged cheering, and then he says significantly—“I submit to every reasonable man that it is far easier to remove the few than the many.” Then there are loud cheers. I

have already read Gordon's speech at Abbeyknockmoy, where he says—"On arriving at Clonbur I had the pleasure of hearing that some great land robber was murdered, or had shot himself." Mr. Dillon, in Cork city, says—"But what I want to direct the attention of the meeting to is, that the landlords were anxious to know whether the Government are prepared to perform their first duty, to protect life and property. I wish to tell the landlords, that while we prevent every act of outrage upon their class, that if they undertake as indicated in this speech to repeat the deeds of past years, I think I shall say we have at our disposal means which shall make them bitterly repent the day." And at that meeting Mr. Lalor, in the presence of Mr. Dillon, says—"We are not bound to go watching every poor fellow in the country that is driven to desperation. We are not going to watch and preach sermons to them." That is in reference to the archbishop. "Let the men that drive the men to desperation, let them take care of themselves (cheers). I must protest against the archbishop saddling us with the responsibility of every assassination that takes place in this country. What we have, and what the Land League has to try is to show you another road besides shooting these men, because they are not worth the shooting (cheers). Recollect who these poor wretches are—these landlords. They are foreigners." Then he makes the reference to France. "Until the year 1793 they had the landlords there. Well, I suppose a great many of you heard of the French Revolution. The French people were a sensitive people, and they took a method of getting rid of their landlords that unfortunately we cannot take. No, my friends, we are not able at present to take the method they took. I wish we were (cheers). I wish we were, and it is not here I would be to-day (cheers)." Mr. Boyton, at that meeting says—"To promote a healthy sentiment in Kildare, where we have the Leinsters, the Burrowes, the LaTouches, the Verschoyles, and all the other land thieves of Ireland." Dillon, at Templemore, says—"I wish here to tell the landlords of Ireland that if they take the law into their own hands and declare war on the Irish people, that I believe that the Irish people know how to defend themselves ('We will,' and cheers). And I believe what is more, that the Irish people have got in their possession a great many of those tools which the landlords considered were their exclusive rights to possess (cheers). Furthermore, I tell the Irish landlords that it is the right of every Irish tenant to have the same arms that an Irish landlord has." Well, Mr. Biggar treats the matter more quietly and facetiously. At Castleisland, he says—"There is another question which has been raised very much. The Land League are unfairly charged with the shooting of landlords." Well, now, what does he say—"It is no part of the duty of the Land League to recommend the shooting of landlords for a great variety of reasons. They never have given any advice of the sort. Mr. Hussey"—That is a great agent in the south of Ireland—an agent for very large properties in Cork, Kerry, and other places. "Mr. Hussey may be a very bad man, and

plenty of other men are as bad as Mr. Hussey ; but I can tell you what the Land League can do. If anyone is charged with shooting, or offering violence to the landlord, or his agent, it is the duty of the Land League to see that that person who is charged with the offence shall get a fair trial. What is the good of a man shooting a landlord?" See the way he discusses it. He discusses it the way you would discuss any ordinary sporting case, "What is the good of a man shooting a landlord?" He mentions Mr. Hussey's name. This is the system of denunciation and terror. Why did Biggar mention Hussey's name, except for the purpose of denouncing him and holding him up to popular execration? Why? We know in Ireland that if a man be a very bad man and be denounced and execrated and fired at, sometimes he is only wounded, sometimes he is killed. But the meaning of all this talk is that the jury that are to try the murderer, are to find a verdict of "served the victim right." "First of all the Government offers an enormous reward : for a large sum of money some one may commit perjury against one for whom a grudge may be felt, or against whom there is no cause of suspicion but of the very vaguest kind"—Then he describes the magistrates and the police, and the attempt of the Government to pack a jury—and what is the advice he gives? Now really the deadliness of this is something perfectly appalling. "Well, you the members of the local Land League can use your exertions to get everything in favour of the person who is charged with such a crime as shooting a landlord." That is Mr. Biggar at Castleisland—the great northern merchant, with his cool, shrewd, head ; who weighs everything he says ; who is a member of Parliament ; and he knows perfectly well that all this abuse of the Government in offering a large reward for the purpose of getting some one to perjure themselves, that the talk about the police working up the thing suspiciously against any one, and that the magistrates are all partizans against the prisoner, is a general libel on the administration of justice in this country. Knowing all these things are, I will not say invented, because it is possible his cool northern head may have been induced in some extraordinary manner to believe them, he then says—"Well, you the members of the local Land League can use your exertions to get everything in favour of the person who is charged with such a crime as shooting a landlord." Now it is said that the Land League do not encourage murders, and profess to discourage murders ; but the mere fact of a person being charged with the crime of shooting a landlord is sufficient to entitle him by the rules of the society to the Land League's protection, and the Land League's money ! Mr. Sexton says—"Either the landlords or the tenants have to go ; and the tenants shall not go." And Mr. Dillon, at Hollyford, in Tipperary, says—"The Irish land belongs to the Irish people--that it has been taken from them by fraud and force—and that the men of Ireland are to-day determined to take back the land of their fathers. You are here to-day to pledge yourselves that you will enter into that struggle, and not cease

from it until you win the victory." Harris, at Kiltoom, says—"If all the men on his estate and the adjoining estate join together, these men you fear so much are the greatest cowards on the face of the earth. When you see them driving good horses they are a dreadful determined people. I tell you the gentry of every country are the greatest cowards in the country, and we will shake these men if you show you have courage and unanimity." At the Galway meeting, which was a very violent one, and which Mr. Parnell was at, he spoke about Lord Mountmorres, and Mr. O'Connor says, in the presence of Parnell and Harris—"Have not the landlords of the County of Galway inflicted duty labour upon you, and are not they ever inflicting lashes on the Irish tenants as sore as were ever inflicted by the South Carolina planter upon the slaves under his control? Is it not true that in this very county, during the famine years, landlords have murdered the tenants of the County of Galway (hear, hear)." At that meeting, in the presence of Parnell, he says—"Is it better that one man should be shot down than hundreds and hundreds—I believe it amounted to 1,200 families—that hundreds of those families should be driven from the face of this fair island; and when I see this extermination, and when I see the weakness of our people, and when I see tyranny triumphing over right and justice, and when I see my fellow-countrymen driven to the four winds of heaven, I say to myself, and I say it here to-day, that if the tenant farmers of Ireland shoot down landlords as partridges are shot in the month of September, that Mat Harris never would say one word against them." That meeting was held on the 17th of October. A sort of apology for that language is at a subsequent meeting made by Mr. Harris—a sort of sneering apology. I do not remember the exact day on which he said it, but there is one apology at all events, in which he said that indeed he didn't agree in the shooting of landlords, and that he objected to shedding the blood of the lower animals. What he meant by that I scarcely know. But this is the man who, by name, denounced, in the most awful language that is used by a man against his fellow-man—denounced the country gentlemen in the West of Ireland. This is the man who says he would drive the Persses from the county by the tenant-farmers poisoning every field in the county. He offered no apologies for that language. But after those apologies about murdering the landlords, he continued to denounce the country gentlemen of the west—denouncing Lord Dunsandle and every resident gentleman in the county—denouncing them in the most terrific language. What is the object of this? Is it the object to drive every country gentleman from Ireland, and leave the land to the peasantry and have the rents collected by the law? Then, indeed, Ireland would be rack-rented. Is it, indeed, their object to get the land into their possession? Then, indeed, Ireland would be rack-rented. These men have proclaimed that no man in Ireland is fit to be a landlord. The farmers and small shopkeepers who have purchased estates in the Landed Estates Court—the cry was now more raised against them than against the

great landlords—the Downshires and the Leinsters—of Ireland. But now it is the fashion to say in the late phase of the Land League, that they give some fair play to the tenants, and it is only against their own class—the land-grabbers, as they are called—that their agitation is directed. Gentlemen of the jury, this agitation has been directed by them against the tenants far more than against the landlords; and there are now all over Ireland, as Dillon himself puts it in the late Tipperary speeches—there are “model farms on which”—as the awful expression puts it—“no living thing dare go.” The *Nation* published that in the West of Ireland a notice was put up threatening the life of any man who takes the land. You remember that awful placard held up at one of the meetings—put up ostentatiously on the roadside—“Let no man take this land.” What system of tyranny are we living under? Is this conspiracy? Is it rebellion? Is it high treason? They are charged with conspiracy—a strike against rent, effected by threats of terror, by coercion against the landlord and tenant—that strike against rent which Daniel O’Connell, whom in his grave these men execrate, proclaimed to be illegal and a treasonable conspiracy, when he drove from the Association the men who attempted it. For him I say, and to his memory I appeal—he is in his grave—if he were now alive, leading the Irish people, as for many a long year he did lead them in their path to emancipation—he would be the first man to speak against this vile conspiracy not to pay rent, not to pay honest debts; he would repeat that phrase which is so eloquently expressed in his own immortal language—only a repetition of the commandment—“Thou shalt do no murder.”

After the adjournment,

The *Foreman of the Jury* (Mr. Corcoran).—Before beginning, my lords, I wish to know if you will adjourn over to-morrow?

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—Our decision with reference to that would be very much dependent upon two circumstances—first, whether the learned Sergeant will conclude to-day. I’ll assume that he concludes his address to-day, and then the remainder will be very much in your hands. If you wish to adjourn over to-morrow I won’t object.

The *Foreman*.—Thank you, my lord.

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—I’ll just tell you at the close of to-day.

Mr. Sergeant *Heron* (resuming)—Gentlemen of the jury, I can assure you that I shall conclude to-day. My task in some respects has been a painful one—to have to speak in severe terms of gentlemen by birth and education, and men of great ability, as all the fourteen defendants are; men of great education, great information, and who have had the assistance plainly, as is usual in great political movements of other persons working for them, and giving them every information that history and literature could afford. And that reminds me that in the interval allowed for rest, in the last few minutes, I was looking over the speech of my learned and eloquent friend, who is sitting beside me as watchful as ever, and I find I omitted this morning one of his references when he compared Ireland

to the starved apothecary in Shakespeare. Gentlemen of the jury, there are certainly some forms that I thought had long been eliminated from Parliamentary and forensic elocution. And the starved apothecary has never been mentioned in forensic oratory or in Parliamentary oratory since Disraeli unhappily (I was present at the scene) said, with reference to a course that he had taken, "that his poverty and not his will consented," and immediately Baron Dowse hit him at once by saying that in the whole course of literature the only thing he could find to compare himself to was the starved apothecary. Gentlemen of the jury, there were many things which used to be referred to by Curran and Erskine, when, towards the close of the last century, trial by jury became popular, and when learned and eminent counsel, amongst the greatest orators that the English language produced, addressed juries and senates. The Trojan Horse was then a famous illustration, but that respectable old animal has long since been sent out to grass, and has not been mentioned in the House of Commons since about the year 1871, when an Irish Member of Parliament thought there was some uncertain allusion to my friend the member for Limerick. Many other things have vanished from our forensic efforts. Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, years ago, abolished what is called the fashionable farthing. It is never referred to now. The benefit of the doubt has also disappeared from our efforts since, unfortunately, in the Munster Circuit, a learned and eloquent counsel, addressing the jury, spoke to them about the Day of Judgment, and asking them to give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt, said—"And, gentlemen, when you shall go before an Omnipotent and Omniscient Judge, I pray that you also may have the benefit of his doubt." And, accordingly, I trust the comparison of Ireland with the starved apothecary will vanish with the Trojan Horse, and the benefit of the doubt and the pound of flesh.

Mr. *Macdonogh*.—Pardon me, my learned friend; Mr. Gladstone is the person who used the very language I have quoted.

Sergeant *Heron*.—I know he did.

Mr. *Macdonogh*.—And Lord John Russell before him. These are the heads of your party; so speak of them with respect.

Sergeant *Heron*.—My learned friend, Mr. Macdonogh, borrowed the illustration from Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone, and I sincerely hope that no one will ever again compare Ireland with the starved apothecary. It is ridiculous. That magnificent passage was recited by Mr. Gladstone with all his powerful effect, and it had the effect it deserved; but it is perfectly idle to have these absurd comparisons going on as if there were not such places in Ireland as Dublin, as Cork, as Belfast, as Derry, and the other flourishing sites of industry and prosperity in our country. Perfectly idle. You have seen, you know the people, you know who they are. I ask you where on earth there are to be found finer men than the sons of the Irish peasantry who form our gallant Irish regiments, that in every quarter of the world march to death with military glee—I ask you where on the face of the earth is to be found a finer body of

soldiers than the Royal Irish Constabulary. I have seen the Republican Guard and the Imperial Guard of France. I have seen, more recently, the Imperial Guards of Austria, Germany, and Russia, and I fearlessly say that the 14,000 men of the Royal Irish Constabulary are as fine a body of men as regards physique, appearance, and discipline, and all that makes a soldier, as exists in the whole world. Talking of our country in this way, parading our misfortunes before the world is absurd. I speak of that county which I once had the honour of representing and which on the plains of Meeanee, Napier immortalized as "magnificent Tipperary." Traverse that county from Nenagh to Borrisoleigh, from Borrisoleigh to Templemore, from Templemore to Thurles, from Thurles to Cashel and Carrick-on-Suir, from Carrick-on-Suir to Clonmel, from Clonmel to the town of Tipperary—the old King's Well—and the Limerick Junction; and I say that on the face of the earth you will not find a more magnificent peasantry—splendid men and beautiful women. We have always to be talked of and paraded in this way by the London-Irish, as I call them again, before the world—men who walk about Pall Mall in tight boots—the men who live there as if they were exiles, their own fate and future being indissolubly connected with the prosperity of England—living there, flourishing there, working there, prosperous and business-like men, living and sharing in the prosperity of England. As Tennyson says—

"Better fifty years of Europe
Than a cycle of Cathay."

And my friend Mr. Sullivan says—"Better five years of London than fifty of Bantry." There he will prosper, while we, forsooth, are to be rooted in the soil—as Bishop Berkeley said—the most foolish thing he ever said—"Circled with a wall of brass," to prevent further emigration of our Irish people to every other country in the world,—wherever the English language is spoken—wherever English or Irish genius can force their way—

Mr. *Macdonogh*.—I declare you are so patriotic that you are convincing even me.

Sergeant *Heron*.—I know I am. My learned friend has a generous heart, and I know his candour. Gentlemen of the jury, I have referred to the awful denunciation of landlordism contained in these terrible passages, and the comparison of Ireland with France, and the hope expressed that the landlords of Ireland would meet with the same fate as French landlordism, which was ended by the horrors of the first French Revolution. But the Archbishop of Dublin, of course, dare not address his pastoral to the Church, to the priests of his diocese, without referring to the subject. This gave great offence. In his pastoral of October his Grace was pleased to say—"But whilst these prayers ascend to the throne of the Mother, another terrible voice is heard challenging the attention of the Eternal. Our unhappy country has, within a few months, drank deeply of the blood of her own children. That blood must call for vengeance to Him who declared that even the beast of the field should account

for man's blood spilt by it. That blood will cry out not only against the hands that made it flow, but against us all, if we fail in abhorrence of the crime which sent a brother's soul, without a moment's notice, without a moment's preparation, before the judgment seat of the terrible Judge. The enemies of all concession to our people have not been slow to turn these dark crimes into arguments against the cause of justice. But whilst men are right in expressing their horror for these crimes, they should not be precipitate in laying their guilt at the door of any individual or of any cause. The tribunals of the country have pronounced no sentence; self-constituted judges should be slow in condemning. But is it not to be deeply deplored that the shortcomings of those who have presided at many public meetings held should give even the shadow of an argument to those who are only too willing to connect the tenant question with outrage and bloodshed? Unfortunately, at many of these meetings, when the character of an erring landlord was being drawn by the public speaker, cries that never, even in levity, should be heard from Christian lips, have been uttered. And although we firmly believe the managers of these meetings abhorred the crime of murder as much as we do, yet no indignant protest came from those who were answerable for the proceedings against these wicked utterances. This was not the rule followed by the great man who liberated his country. Though a passionate lover of liberty, he declared again and again that liberty was not worth a drop of human blood if shed in crime. He taught his followers that the man who committed a crime gave strength to the enemies of his country; and if in his most excited meetings a word of violence was uttered, the thunders of his eloquence speedily silenced the offender. We all know the results of his wise policy." I leave that without note or comment. No possible words of mine could add to their eloquence, the sentiments thus addressed, in the canonical discharge of his duty, to the priests of his diocese, publicly read at the altars of God on that Sunday. And when Dr. M'Cabe's name is mentioned by these men the cry is made—"Away with him—away with him. Down with him—down with him." Nally, at Clerhaun, said, "Keep together, and keep strong. Dynamite and gun-cotton will scatter them to pieces." Dillon, at Fethard, says—"And I say that if the English Government enter upon a policy of coercion and attempt to use brute force against the majority of the Irish people to-day, that that course will render the connexion between the two countries an impossibility in the future, and I say furthermore to the landlords of Ireland that the land law, if this movement is suppressed, that its suppression by force and violence will beget in the minds of the people so desperate and bitter a hatred to landlordism and to the men who live by it, that the house of every landlord in Ireland will be built over a volcano, and he cannot tell the hour when that volcano may burst and sweep him and all that belong to him to a far worse fate than that which the National Land League of Ireland dealt out to him. And I will only say, in conclusion, that though I am not a man who am too

much given to telling the people not to shed a drop of human blood, or that all liberty is not worth a drop of human blood—because I believe it is worth a great deal of human blood, I believe—I would like to say in conclusion that I think that the interests of this movement, particularly as regards the good name of the Irish race in foreign countries, would be best served by the people maintaining a strictly defensive policy, not injuring any man either in his person or in his property, but simply Boycotting any man who turns traitor on the people: Boycott was—never a hair of his head was hurt, and no man raised his hand against him—and what has been the result? He has been obliged to fly the country, and yet no man could be touched by the law or punished for anything that was done to him. And furthermore, no crime was committed in connection with him. Let then the people pursue this policy of defence, and there is no doubt in the world but that, as I said before, they have the game in their own hands, and they can insist on having fair and just terms conceded to them; and furthermore, that if the landlords adopt a policy of bullying and repression, that it will be in the power of the people to punish the landlords and bring them to reason.” And Boyton, at the same meeting, repeats that expression, which I won’t characterise by any adjective. Nally speaks about dynamite and gun-cotton, and we have heard of the Clerkenwell explosion, and we know that within the last few days there was a dynamite explosion and murder at Manchester. Gentlemen, the agitation which began sharply in the months of May, June, and July, culminated apparently in the month of October. The meetings became more numerous every Sunday, and the principal persons conducting the agitation in these months were Mr. Boyton, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Dillon. The language from day to day increased in intensity. When the land agitation commenced in Ireland there was some talk about the Ulster tenant right being extended to the rest of the country. That now is characterised as a sham and an imposture, and it is said that the rents are higher in Ulster, where the tenant right prevails, than in any other part of Ireland. Then came the cry for what is called the “Three F’s,” but the committee of landlords, as they were called, met in Dublin, and, as I understand, some months ago adopted the “Three F’s,” as they are called——

Mr. *Sullivan*.—No, they did not.

Sergeant *Heron*.—They are now denounced as the enemies of their country. The “Three F’s,” at all events, by the leaders of the agitation are now repudiated, and the idea of a fair rent is scoffed and scouted at at every land meeting, fixity of tenure and free sale being of course admitted—that is fixity of tenure transferring the fee simple from the landlords to the tenants. And how will the traversers compel the new landlords not to let their land? Free sale means that they will take every opportunity of screwing the last shilling out of the man who buys it; and the “three F’s,” indeed, are a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. I told you the agitation was going on in the months of August and September. On the 1st August, Mr. Michael Boyton, from the National

Land League, attended a remarkable meeting at Cloneen, in the county Tipperary. Cloneen was connected with a case, as you may have seen in the newspapers—the case of the Meaghers. That is a case in which there was direct interference with property. Boyton attended at Cloneen, and on the 1st August made this speech, in which he said:—

“Therefore, I tell you again, we are beginning at the beginning. We are beginning to try to educate the Irish people into the knowledge of their power, for they have a power, if they would exercise it, that would cranch this miserable system in twenty-four hours. To come home to the direct object of this assemblage is this. There have been rumours in the air that there are men wanting to take or desirous of taking the land of Henry Meagher. It matters not who or what they be. I tell these men here to-day, and I desire them to mark it, the people of Ireland, at least so much of them as we can command under this national organization, and so much of the funds of their brothers in America as they can command, have through their council sent you. Men of Tipperary, you in the gap, you are in the gap. Upon how you hold that gap now depends on the future—the land question in this county. (A voice: ‘It will never be lost.’) We have given you a bit of work to do. We are at your back with the people of the Land League throughout Ireland. We are coming to see with our help what you will do to fight for yourselves, for in holding that land you are asserting a principle, you are deliberately showing the landlord the power you have to crush his interests, the only thing that he ever consults in Ireland. It was said of these landlords, and when all is said and done they are only a handful, some five or six thousand, some one in every thousand of the people; and surely, granted that there are 500 men, and these all cowards, if we got only one to every landlord, it ought to be enough to settle the land question, provided always, as the lawyer says, that you mean business, and that you are united.”

He was referring in that to the same theory maintained by my friend, Mr. Curran, when he said Nally meant murder if he believed in it. “I myself, would be the last one to interfere with the free expression of any man’s right, or his belief, or opinion on the settlement of the land question; but for the present I wish once for all to tell you what we have to-day in view. It is a peasant proprietary; and, failing that, we vow that the land of Ireland shall become just like that farm must become, if you are faithful to your vow, a wilderness. If they do not give us the land for the people, why then give the land to the game, but they will never get it (cheers). I have talked more than I would have done under other circumstances. There are gentlemen here who know the immediate circumstances of this place, that know the parties, that there has been, as I have said before, rumours that they were looking to spit in the people’s faces. Let them take to-day a word of warning, for I tell them that there is something round they do not think about (cheers). You can tell them it is not in cheering or in meetings that the firm determination of a resolute manhood

is ever carried out. It is in exercising quiet and peaceful methods; but the moment the spark is struck, then they had wished that they had thought before they had provoked it. Once for all, a word of warning is never wasted ('never'). And I tell these men, and I tell them most truly, it would be better for them they had never been born than that they attempted by foul means to defeat the resolution of the people of Tipperary (cheers). I could not add one word to what I have said. I say now that we are going, your worthy junior member and myself, to organize the county Tipperary, and that those who to-day wish us to strengthen their hands in the settlement of the land question know what the meaning of an organized Tipperary is (cheers). They will know it when we have twenty, ay thirty thousand men to say, 'We will hold the land.' (A voice, "It will be.") Mr. Boyton—"Go on, and if you want to fight it out, it will take thousands of the police and regiments of soldiers to serve a single process of ejection in the county Tipperary (cheers); and all that without ever firing a shot, unless we are provoked and have the means to do it, we must always have the means. But while we are waiting for that, we want the men of Tipperary, the men—let the old women stand aside—and come up resolutely, earnestly, fearlessly, and manfully, and give their names to such young men as Mr. Cusack, and men who will be appointed secretaries (cheers for Mr. Cusack). Give him your name, and as you have received his name so warmly, I may perhaps tell you that the secretary of the Sleevenamon Land League—that is the name they have given it—it takes in all the branches that will be established within the immediate vicinity—that he is a young man that has the confidence of the Irish National Land League." Gentlemen of the jury, my learned friend, counsel for Mr. Sullivan, the traverser, the proprietor of the *Nation*, told you that he never advocated the Boycotting system. Now, I think it right to say of Mr. Sullivan that reading, as it was my duty to do, the speeches which he made in this affair, I would exonerate him from advocating the blasphemy contained in Paudeen O'Rafferty's Commandments. As regards the rest of them, the expressions are repeated, adopted, and advocated; but as I was challenged by my learned friend, counsel for Mr. Sullivan, I must read his speech at Ennis, where he deliberately advocated, in the presence of Parnell, the Boycotting system as regards the taking of farms from which tenants were evicted, for what he calls the non-payment of an unjust rent. He says, "Now Mr. Parnell and Mr. Finigan have told you here to-day that the key-note, the keystone of your power is this, that a stop shall be put to the taking of farms from which families were evicted for the non-payment of an unjust rent. Now let me tell you that no matter how you meet or no matter how you pass resolutions, or no matter how you cheer, if the practice goes on of outbidding one another for these farms, or of taking these farms at all on which evictions have taken place, all our labour is vain (bravo). Nothing that we can do will save you, if you go taking the farms from which the landlords

have cleared out honest and industrious families, because they failed to pay them unjust and extravagant rents. But, my friends, so sure as that sun is shining on us, so sure it is that if you stand to each other like brothers, follow the advice that has been given you here to-day,"—that is by Mr. Parnell, to whose speech I shall refer—"leave those farms to grow thistles and rushes, and if any one is base enough to go in on them, shun him (shoot him); let him be as an outcast amongst you, and his life will be a life of shame and a life of misery, and the shame will attach not only to himself, but to his children and his children's children (cheers)." Gentlemen of the jury, this speech was made on the 19th September. It is the same as the banners and placards at Bohola and Milltown. It is taken directly, as I have already informed you, by some man of genius and literature, and adopted almost *verbatim* from the terrible denunciation in the "Fire Worshippers"; and it is adopted by Mr. Sullivan with an unanimity of sentiment remarkable, but proving at the same time that he joined this illegal conspiracy of social excommunication against a man taking a farm. Mr. Biggar, on the 17th October, in Tullow, says—"Now, if anyone does—as has been pointed out—takes land from which a tenant has been evicted for non-payment of an exorbitant rent, or in any case in which he has not got full compensation from the landlord for his disturbance and for all his improvements, I do think, Mr. Chairman, that the attitude of all the neighbours of that man is to take care that he shall not derive any profit from that land. Do not assist him as a labourer, do not (interruption) deal with him, do not buy from him, do not sell to him, and the result will be that that man will in a very limited time be very well pleased to give the land to the party who had been evicted from it. Then, suppose another case in which the landlord takes the land in his own hand. Well now, I gave a suggestion in the county Kerry on this day week" (that refers to his speech at Castleisland which I read), "and I do not know whether it is the best or not, but I would say if the landlord puts this crop, this land into crop, such as oats, turnips, or potatoes, if his cows stray into these oats, do not take the trouble to have the cattle turned out (laughter). Well, if he has any crop to cut, why, advise all the labourers in the neighbourhood to take care not to take any employment from him, try to get employment at some other place, and allow the crop to lie waste, so that he will make nothing out of it. Then, suppose for instance, his cattle stray in the road, well, allow them to continue to stray: do not take the trouble to put them back. All these are little things not infringing the law. At the same time they are matters which would effectually come within the cognizance of the members of the Land League, and which they would—The case is equally strong in case the landlord has insisted upon such a rent that the tenant could not afford to give it, and had to give up the land to the landlord. In that case the landlord is an extortioner; he wishes to act unfairly towards his unfortunate tenant; he wishes to live on the life-blood of the

people of this country, and he does not deserve to have any produce from that land. In that case just take the whole proceedings as you would have done if the tenant had been evicted—In county Mayo some nuns asked for some of their land more than the tenant could afford to give; the nuns let it to the parish priest, and the neighbours in the county Mayo pulled down the fences, and would not allow the parish priest to occupy it.” That is nice advice from a Member of Parliament. At Bawnboy, on the 30th October, Mr. Biggar says—I am now approaching the conclusion of my remarks, and I intend to give a few of the expressions in speeches by Mr. Biggar, Mr. Boyton, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Dillon—speeches showing the continuance and violence of the agitation and how they went on and on, until finally, as Mr. Dillon openly said, no rent ought to be paid in Ireland. This is Mr. Biggar’s speech in Bawnboy on the 30th October—“They say a class of men called landlords, who, of course, we know very well, in the majority of cases, have got the land by fraud and violence; we know the present landlords or the predecessors in title have got the land by fraud and violence.” Now I say there is no man in the community knows better than Mr. Biggar that that is not a fact—“They say a class of men called landlords, who, of course, we know very well, in the majority of cases, have got the land by fraud and violence; we know the present landlords or the predecessors in title have got the land by fraud and violence, and that they have no just rights, but they have what is called a vested interest.” Vested interest! The contempt with which the speaker speaks of vested interests. There is such a thing as a vested interest in butter and bacon, but none in land. “And that they have no just rights; but they have what is called a vested interest; that is, they and their predecessors have been in the habit of levying a tribute from the occupier in a shape called rent; and it is not considered desirable.” There is a great humour about this man. It is not desirable, from the landlord’s point of view, that this revolution should take place. No; if there was a revolution they would be hanged on every cross-road in Ireland. From the landlord’s point of view it is not considered desirable. He says, “It is not considered desirable, from the landlord’s point of view, that a revolution should take place, or that the land should be taken from them without getting fair and reasonable compensation in return for that which they have been for some time past in possession of.” That is from the landlord’s point of view—that if they are turned out they ought to get compensation. Of course, that is not Mr. Biggar’s view—“The question arises, on what basis are you going to value the present interest of these landlords? Some people say that you must compensate them on the basis of the rent which they have been charging the tenant in time past. Now, in some cases that would not be so very unfair a proposition, because we know in some cases the landlords are not extortionate. In many cases they are not extortionate, and they charge less than the Government valuation; in those cases

we do not mean to say that the rent which they now charge would be an unfair basis. But we know that, in a great many cases, the landlords are charging not only the Government valuation, but a great deal beyond the Government valuation, and any sum of money claimed in the shape of rent by the landlords beyond the Government valuation, is *bona fide* clear and simple extortion and robbery. (cheers.) We say the Government valuation is even too high a valuation for this reason: because the valuers take not only into account the natural value of the land, but the improvements on the land, which were the work of the occupying tenant. So that if the landlord gets compensation on the basis of the Government valuation, he is getting compensated on an extraordinary high rate and not in accordance with fair play between man and man. We are disposed to say"—that is, the Executive of the Land League—"we are disposed to say that, in morals and fair play, if the landlord has been charging for a great many years past more than the Government valuation, he should be asked to refund a part of what he has extorted from the occupying tenant beyond what was a reasonable and fair rent, of that rent." You know that would be ludicrous, except that it is taken as real by the unfortunate people who are paying their shillings to the Land League. "This is the morality of the case; and the principle that would be accepted by the Land League agitators for making the Government valuation the nominal basis would be a better one for the landlords than they would get; if they are not wise enough to enter in the compromise with the representatives of the people on such a basis as is proposed; if these men are foolish enough to press the fight to a greater extent than we propose, the result will be, they will get a great deal less; because a man who does not accept a fair offer—as it does happen—the bidder draws back, and he gets less than he otherwise would have had (cheers.) In this country"—in this "county" it ought to be—"certain members of the tenant-farmer class are the worst enemies of themselves. They act on the pernicious system of playing into the hands of the landlords by giving extortionate rents" (a voice—"Down with them.") Mr. Biggar—"And by taking land from which tenants have been evicted because they would not or could not pay dishonest rents which the landlords tried to extort from them." He then gives an individual case, according to this dreadful system of naming persons, and then he says, "What was the result? This landlord misled his neighbours as to his real character and as to the facts of the case with regard to this controversy in county Leitrim, and my friends of Cavan very injudiciously went and assisted the landlord in removing the hay from the land." (A voice, "We are sorry for them.") Mr. Biggar: "Now, what should have occurred with regard to that land? The grass should have been left on the land (hear, hear). Any tenant-farmer or any labourer who assists to take the grass from any land from which the occupying tenant has been evicted, or in any case in which the landlord has acted unfairly towards the land, is a curse to the country in which he lives, and entitled to

the reprobation of every one who knows him." And then he tells a case about Belturbet, and a case about Limerick, and says :—"If instead of being, as at present, in a disorganized state, which you are in county Cavan, if you had a branch of the Land League in the district to which I have referred, as soon as our friends in county Leitrim had pointed out the facts of the case, the League in Dublin would have allowed the people in county Cavan to know the conduct of this landlord, and the result would have been instead of having his hay carried into the country by volunteers, it would have been rotting in county Leitrim, and he would have derived no benefit therefrom (cheers)." Again, at Kinlough—a portion of the speech I have read, and I will not read that portion again. After the crowd said, "a big windy night might blow it away"—that is, the hay—Mr. Biggar says—"Leave your own matters thoroughly within the cognizance of the Land League. Another thing which should be done is this : suppose any landlord has been insisting upon getting a larger rent than the Government valuation, a combination should be entered into by the tenants on that particular property, and they should all say, we will give you the Government valuation in the shape of rent ; if you do not take that you will get nothing at all. Now, my friends, these are all matters within your power ; at the same time, unless you all combine and act together in an organized manner as one man, the result must be that the landlords will beat you. If you stick together, each one helping himself and his neighbours, the result is that the many must triumph over the few." Now, gentlemen, there is the advice given by a man who was spoken of almost by his counsel as the brains carrier of the League—a cool, shrewd, Northern merchant—a Member of Parliament, enjoying the confidence of the electors of his county, with which, no doubt, he is connected by birth and property. I do not say one word against his position as a member of Parliament ; I am discharging my duty against his teachings as proved here. Well, but it is said, individuals are not attacked, that it is only the system that is attacked. But if landlordism is to be abolished without compensation, what is to become of the landlords ? Boyton, at Parsonstown, openly avows the attacking of individuals. He says in one place "we do not attack landlords," in another place he says they do attack landlords. At Parsonstown, on the 21st November, he says :—"We of the Land League do not attack any landlord as an individual, but we attack the land grabber as an individual (cheers), and we want to make the crime of land grabbing and the crime of going behind a man's back to betray the cause that you have publicly pledged yourselves to stand by—we want to make that crime as odious as was the crime of the man who was an informer or a betrayer in the past history of Ireland (cheers). We want you to know that it is treason, and treason against the people is the worst crime that can curse humanity. I will not detain you longer than by complying with the duty which principally brought me here to-day. (A voice, 'You are welcome.') I

wish you to know that this is not merely a political agitation. I tell you again that it is not an agitation ; and if it were merely an agitation, and that this great crowd, this splendid demonstration, should fade away to-morrow and leave no results, not leave a permanent working organization of men determined to go on with the work. When the banners are gone, when the music is gone, when the speeches are gone, ay, and when the leaders are gone to British prisons, we want you to go on. (A voice, ' We will. ') We have laid the track for you, and you have not anything to do but to go on (cheers). Already, throughout some nineteen or twenty counties out of thirty-two, God has gratified my heart, and God has blessed my eyes with the sight of nearly 60,000 or 70,000 honest, manly, right hands lifted up in His presence. I have seen throughout the well-organized and magnificent county of Tipperary (cheers), I have seen already 100,000 hands lifted up to pledge themselves to be, what they always were, true Irishmen (cheers). I know from what I have seen to-day in Birr, that this meeting, and the spirit of enthusiasm, the manliness, the good order, and the determination that is elsewhere visible, will not even be second to anything in Tipperary (cheers). I feel sure that when you give your pledge you will go home and keep it (hear, hear). I now call upon any man who cannot conscientiously give the pledge to remove himself on the outside of this vast crowd ; and as there seems to be no movement in that direction, I call upon you, men of the King's county, and North Tipperary to pledge yourselves solemnly before God and your clergy, and side by side with your fellow-countrymen, never to take the land from which your neighbour has been evicted for non-payment of an unjust rent. (Cries of ' Never. ') Never to purchase or bid for cattle or crops seized for rent. (Cries of ' Never. ') Never to purchase grass lands that are the property of a landlord having evicted the tenant. (Cries of ' Never. ') And I call upon you, that class of men whose interest in this struggle is no less than that of the farmers and the labourers, I call upon you, in giving this pledge, to pledge yourselves never to work for that man or on that land (cheers.) Now, every man who can conscientiously take that pledge, and keep it in the name of God, hold up his right hand." And here the hands of the people were all held up. At Clonmel he repeats the same pledge—" Already in the land movement we have had too much talk and too little work. It will be a proud moment for me if the British Government puts me side by side with John Dillon, to prosecute me for doing your work. Now, in pursuance of my duty as an organizer of the Irish National Land League, I call on every man here to pledge himself before God and in the sight of his fellow-countrymen never to take the farm from which his neighbour is evicted for non-payment of unjust rent, never to purchase crops or cattle seized for rent, and never to work on such land. Every honest man who is prepared to take that pledge manfully and determinedly to keep it, hold up his right hand." That meeting was held in Clonmel, the centre of a thickly populated district. It was an

enormous meeting, attended by the clergy, attended by the people; and on that demand from the organizer of the Irish National Land League every hand in that vast assembly was held up. After that meeting—the meetings were now going on every Sunday—Mr. Boyton again attended at Limerick. He says—“Men of Limerick, I have come to gather up the thread of what you have heard to-day, and to give you, men of Tipperary and men of historic Limerick, in the presence of the president of the Irish National Land League, the pledge that makes you each and all Land Leaguers (a Voice, ‘Good’). I call upon every honest Irishman here present, whether he be from Limerick, Clare, or Tipperary, to pledge himself before God, in the presence of his clergy, and side by side with his fellow-countrymen throughout Ireland, never to take, hold, or bid for the land from which his neighbour has been evicted for non-payment of an unjust rent, never to work on that land, and never to purchase cattle or crops seized for rent (cheers). Every one who can manfully and honestly give that pledge, and in addition pledge himself never to pay more than Griffith’s valuation, hold up his right hand.” The pledge was taken with raised hands. That enormous meeting was attended by the people from the great agricultural counties of Limerick, Clare, and Tipperary. And again, every man in that vast assembly held up his right hand. But there was more after the Land League pledge was given. He read and proposed a resolution, which he says is a very important one—“Whereas the English Government has hitherto refused to protect our interests from unscrupulous landlords, we hereby, in public meeting assembled, resolve to protect ourselves by the adoption of the following proposals: First—Never to take a farm from which a tenant has been unjustly evicted, to hold no communication either with the man who violates this rule or his family. Second—To withdraw our custom from any shopkeeper either in Limerick or in any other town or village in the county who either sells to or in any other way accommodates such a person, and, finally, to refuse permission to all rackrenting landlords and bad agents to shoot or hunt over our lands.” The remaining portion of the resolution is about supporting Mr. Parnell and the Irish party in the House of Commons, and has no important bearing on this matter. Gentlemen, we pass to the 14th November, at Thurles. Remember we have got this open swearing, as it were, calling on the people before God, in the presence of their clergy and swearing them, I repeat, to do an illegal act—to join in this combination against rent. Do you see now, why my learned friend, Mr. Macdonogh, did not read the evidence? At Thurles, on the 14th November, Boyton—still, as I say, swearing in the people, as organizer—says—“You are called upon, every man present here to-day, to declare whether he will be an Irishman, and to-day that means to be a good Land Leaguer (cheers). The pledge of the Irish National Land League embodies the principle of the League. It is that you have a right to combine like men for self-preservation; that you have a right to watch, to mark down, and to excommunicate, socially and politically, the man

who in the face of this great movement will be base enough to betray the cause of Ireland, for the man to-day who violates his Land League pledge is a double-dyed traitor to God and to his country. With the permission of your esteemed chairman I will first give you the Land League pledge; and I now in the name of the Land League of Tipperary, I call on every honest Irishman present, in the sight of God, before his priests, and side by side with his brother countrymen, I call on every man to pledge himself solemnly never to look for, to take, to bid for, or to occupy the land from which his neighbour has been unjustly evicted (cries of 'never, never'); never, never to purchase crops or cattle seized for rent; never to bid for grasslands put up at auction by a landlord; and I call upon the labourers and the workers, who are no less identified in interest with this struggle than the farmers, never work upon that land. (Cries, 'never.') All who are prepared to take that pledge will do so by lifting his right hand." And then the vast assemblage lifted up their right hands. At Fethard on the 5th December, he says:—"I will now conclude by doing that which I have done elsewhere throughout this county to fully 100,000 men. I do not believe there are men here present who have given us the Land League pledge"—it should be "there are men here present who have given us the Land League pledge, ay, half-a-dozen times over, but it is a good thing for the future of Ireland, and you cannot do it too often. I now call on you, the men who first started the Land League in Tipperary, to pledge us to-day as you did then, never to take the land from which your neighbour has been evicted (Never); never to purchase cattle or crops; never to pay any landlord rent for, or to take from him hay or grasslands under any circumstances." See how it goes on—"never to pay any landlord rent for, or to take from him hay or grass lands under any circumstances, and never again to pay one farthing more than Griffith's valuation until the question is settled (loud cheers). All who can follow that will give us his good right hand." And again the hands were held up. I am told there is to be no extermination of the landlords. At Portumna, on the 12th December, Mr. Boyton again speaks. He said they had first to put an end to rack-renting, and how? Did they expect it by looking beyond St. George's, and building their hopes on that foreign and despotic Government? Pending the settlement of the land question, the people could assemble and strike whatever they consider a fair rent, and the man who paid one farthing more should be treated as an enemy to justice and an enemy to the Irish people. This was the way he proposed to put an end to rackrenting—it would be better for the landlords to have the people on the land"—here is the new element developing—"or the people might leave the lands lying waste for the crows to perch on. The people would see that those evicted farms or holdings were allowed to remain waste, or they might find it convenient to drive their cattle to graze on the land." See how the wildfire spreads. And next, they proposed to put an end to landlord oppression. How? The landlord had no interest in it, according

to the speeches of counsel in the Queen's Bench. How did Boyton propose to put an end to landlord oppression? By putting an end to landlords as a class. He says—"By simply putting an end to the landlords themselves, as a class, by putting an end to landlordism in the country—when they would exterminate off the face of this fair land the whole race of agents, bailiffs, rent-warners, and all other tools of landlordism." Did he mean it? Did he mean it? It was only Nally, who has allowed a counsel to insinuate that he did not mean what he was saying. If any counsel for Boyton dared in this Court to say the man did not honestly mean what he said, Boyton would get up and dismiss that counsel. It is plain he means it. It is plain he means what he says. What becomes of the talk now that this is to be peacefully and quietly effected—that the Irish revolution is the only revolution in the world that is to be carried out with rose water? An oratorical allusion is made to the "Red Sea," through which Ireland must go in its path to victory over landlordism. And next they propose to put an end to landlord oppression —

Mr. *Curran*.—No one ever suggested we should go through the Red Sea.

Sergeant *Heron*.—Certainly not.

Mr. *Curran*.—You say counsel stated it.

Sergeant *Heron*.—Oh, no.

Mr. *Curran*.—On the contrary, counsel said this was to be a constitutional agitation.

Sergeant *Heron*.—I refer you to the Beaufort meeting. How was Mr. Boyton to put an end to landlordism? "By simply putting an end to the landlords themselves as a class." I wish my learned friend, Mr. Macdonogh, would give his exquisite explanation of that sentence—"Putting an end to the landlords themselves." How? Not only by putting an end to landlordism, but by exterminating the landlords off the face of this fair land. "They would exterminate off the face of this fair land the whole race of agents, bailiffs, rent-warners, and all other tools of landlordism." How is he to exterminate them without murdering them? And then he wished the people to bear in mind that when those meetings had ceased and men went home quietly, going on with their daily avocations, that there would be an organization working over the whole land. My learned friend tried in vain to laugh at that opening sentence. Now, remember it was my learned and ingenious friend, Mr. Curran, who spoke for Nally. Not one of the other counsel dared to say his client did not mean what he said. Not one of them dared to say his client would not do what they intended to do if the police and the Irish regiments were out of the country, and if they got the opportunity. Mr. Parnell in the same manner develops his views. And this reminds me that the views of Irish history and of English history, as they appear in the speeches of the Land Leaguers, appear to be rather mixed. Mr. Burke, at Manorhamilton, on August 29th, 1880,

abused Queen Elizabeth and Henry the Eighth. He also referred to James the Second, who, he said, was the murderer of the beautiful Catholic Mary Queen of Scots. Mr. Parnell is said to be a young man from Cambridge, and should have had a great education. At Beaufort he says—"I have spoken at greater length than I expected. We will see that the people will not be swept from the country while there is money to defend them in the courts of law. The National Land League has plenty of money at its disposal for the purpose of defending the tenantry of Ireland. Your fellow countrymen in America will send you as much money as you want. Everywhere throughout the States I found the greatest anxiety to help you. Do not, then, be afraid; band yourselves together; organise yourselves (cheers) against the landlord system, and, believe me, the day is dawning when we shall have taken the first great step to strike down British misrule, and the noble dreams of Grattan, Emmet, and Lord Otho Fitzgerald"—your Democrat dearly loves a lord—"and of every Irish patriot, ought at all times to be brought to a triumph and realization (cheers). I have much pleasure in proposing this resolution:—'That in the opinion of this meeting the eviction of occupiers of land for non-payment of a rent arbitrarily fixed by the landlord is unjust, subversive of the interests of the country, and calls for the emphatic condemnation of all lovers of justice.'"

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—Lord "Otho" Fitzgerald is it?

Sergeant *Heron*.—Yes, my lord, Lord Otho it is. But you may remember, at the time, the matter was read with emphasis. My learned friend is as watchful as possible, and there was no cross-examination on the subject. I am told if you refer to the *Freeman's Journal* you will see the same—Lord "Otho" Fitzgerald. It may be a *lapsus linguæ*, or carelessness about Irish history. But at all events it is quite plain Parnell knew Lord Otho Fitzgerald, and that he had never read or heard of the Shan Van Vocht.

Mr. P. *O'Brien*.—Keaveney is the name of the constable who reported that meeting.

Mr. Justice BARRY.—Yes, I remember it perfectly. It was one of the constables.

Sergeant *Heron*.—Of course, Mr. Parnell said it, just as Mr. Burke, another of the orators, said that James the Second murdered his great grandmother. I have not wearied your time in the wild talk about the land systems of Europe, all of which is contained in the tremendous brief my learned friend had before him, and which I hope will be preserved as a historical record; nor the wild talk about landlordism in France and other countries; the extraordinary perversion of Mr. John Stuart Mill; the wild perversion of history; the extraordinary way all the old grievances of Ireland have been raked up. Have other countries no grievances? Stands Scotland where it did? Has Scotland not forgiven the memories of Culloden? Has not noble Hungary forgiven the capitulation of Vilajos, and the massacre of hundreds of Hungarian officers by Haynau. And is it possible Ireland is to linger in one long continuous

preaching of the gospel of hate, because that on many a battle field long ago, English and Irish fought against each other; and now, on every battle field since Waterloo they fought beside one another, and for the cause of their king and country? Mr. Parnell says, at Ennis, on the 19th September—"It will be the measure of your determination not to pay unjust rents ('good,' and cheers). It will be the measure of your determination to keep a firm grip of your homesteads (cheers). It will be the measure of your determination not to bid for farms from which others have been evicted (cheers), and to use the strong force of public opinion to deter any unjust men among you (and there are many such) from bidding for such farms. If you refuse to pay unjust rents, if you refuse to take farms from which others have been evicted, the Land Question must be settled (cheers), and settled in a way that will be satisfactory to you. It depends, therefore, entirely upon yourselves, and not upon any Commissions or any Governments. When you have made this question really ripe for settlement, then, and not till then, will it be settled. It is very nearly ripe already in many parts of Ireland. It is ripe in Mayo, in Galway, in Roscommon, in Sligo, and in portions of the county of Cork, but I regret to say that the tenant farmers of the county of Clare have been backward in organization up to the present time (shouts). You must, then, band yourselves together into Land Leagues. Every little town and village must have its own branch. You must know the circumstances of all the holdings and all the tenures within the district over which the Land League has jurisdiction. You must see that the principles of the Land League are inculcated, and when you have done this in Clare, Clare will take her rank with the other Irish counties, and you will find that you will be included in the next Land Bill which will be brought forward by the Government (cheers). Now, what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted? (Various shouts, among which 'Kill him,' and 'Shoot him.')

—That passage I read before. That is the boycotting of a tenant who takes an evicted farm.—"Now is the time for them to settle, before the people learn the power of combination. We have been accused of preaching Communistical doctrines when we told the people not to pay an unjust rent, and the following-out of that advice in a few of the Irish counties has shown the English Government the necessity of a radical alteration in the land laws, but how would they like it if some day or other we told the people not to pay any rents until this question was settled? We have not told them that yet, and I hope it may never be necessary for us to speak in that way. I hope the question will be settled peaceably, fairly, and justly to all parties, but if it should not be settled, we cannot continue to allow this millstone to hang round the neck of our country, throttling its industries and preventing all progress, and it will be for the consideration of wiser heads than mine ('There could not be') whether if the landlords continue obdurate and refuse all just concessions we shall

not be obliged"—we the Executive—"to tell the people of Ireland to strike against all rent until this question has been settled, and if the 50,000 tenant farmers of Ireland struck against the 10,000 landlords, I should like to see where they would get police and soldiers enough to preserve the peace (cheers.)" Does not Parnell there show that he is guilty of that crime which Daniel O'Connell denounced in the Repeal Association? Does he not there say he will advise a strike against rent, and did not Daniel O'Connell state the truth when he said that the man who would advise such a course would be the worst enemy of the Irish people, and O'Connell from his grave calls Parnell the worst enemy of the Irish people? At Kilkenny the wild talk goes on. The resolution "speaks of the proprietary right of the tenant as well as the proprietary right of the landlord. I think it will be very difficult to establish such a practical system of partnership as will secure and recognize these two joint and different proprietary rights in the land (cheers). The proprietary right of the tenant is the right which he has earned by reclaiming the land from a state of nature, and by making it productive for the benefit of all; the proprietary right of the landlord is the right which he has obtained by force, fraud, and conquest (cheers), and it is, therefore, impossible that you should be able in these days, with the history of the past in view, to recognize such different and entirely opposed proprietary rights (cheers)."—Listen now to the smooth and delicate way in which the abolition of landlordism is proposed, following out what Boyton called the extermination of landlordism, by exterminating the landlords themselves, their agents, bailiffs, and rent-warners.—"Independently of these considerations, there are many others which I could allude to just now, but I do not wish to detain this vast meeting at too great length (cheers, and 'Go on'). I believe that it is not possible to obtain from the Legislature a system of partnership between the landlord and the tenant in the soil. One of them must go. Which shall it be? (Prolonged cheers.) The landlords say the tenants must go."—Is not that a most unjust observation?—"The landlords say the tenants must go."—The defendants' case is that the tenants are there, that the lands are set up for competition, and that by the competition of the tenants amongst themselves rents are unjustly raised. But it is said here—"The landlords say the tenants must go, and they have sent many hundreds of thousands of the tenant farmers of Ireland from this country into exile. They have sent them (a voice—'We know it well; we will give them their turn now'), and they say still that there is not room in Ireland for the tillers of the soil; but I submit to every reasonable man that it is far easier to remove the few than the many (cheers), and that the evidence of the uncultivated though fertile fields which we see in such vast tracts in every part of Ireland with scarcely a single inhabitant, with nothing to show that they were ever populated except the ruins that we see in every direction of the once happy and peaceful homes which existed there, I say that this is sufficient evidence for us to see the absolute necessity which exists for

getting our people on to the land so that they make it produce what it is capable of producing (cheers), and if the ownership of the few landlords, the ten thousand landlords, has depopulated these lands and put them back almost into a state of original nature, is it not high time that this ownership should cease, and should give place to a system of land tenure of a natural—of a kind which will allow the land to be properly cultivated? (Cheers.) I believe a system of partnership in the soil to be impossible, and I warn you that if you pursue it you will be pursuing an *Ignis fatuus*, a method of solving which you will never obtain from the present or any other Government. If you strive to prop up the system of landlordism by these means, what will the Government do in all probability? They will offer you, as the principal plank in the reformation of the land system, some miserable amendment of the Land Act of 1870: and recollect the radical difference which exists between the Land Act of 1870 and the Ulster custom as legalized by that Land Act, and the system of partnership in the soil known as the plan of fixity of tenure at valued rents." Then he goes on, in reference to the question of fixity of tenure, and he says—"Let, then, your power be directed for the purpose of bringing about a natural system of land tenure in Ireland. Do not waste your resources in striving to prop up landlordism ('Never'), but ask for your right, and your right is that the man who tills the soil may own it (cheers). This has been tested before in other countries, and in every other country where the feudal land tenure existed they have substituted ownership for it. Do not, then, tinker with this question, because if you do you will be left pretty much as badly off as you were before. The Government will never agree to value rents between the landlord and the tenant; they will agree to make you the owners if you declare it unmistakably that it is your intention to become the owners, and if you organize yourselves in this county of Kilkenny ('We will'), if you join the National Land League (cheers), and send us information as to the rents of the tenantry throughout this county, as soon as we get information we will organize a strike against rent on the estate of every rack-renting landlord in Kilkenny (cheers). As soon as you form yourselves into branches of the Land League, and send us the rentals, and the Poor Law Valuation of every tenant farmer in the county, we will select out of that number for you those holdings which are obviously paying a rack-rent, and we will come down and assist those tenants to strike against the payment of further rent for some time (cheers). But we wish you to do this in a methodical way. You must organize yourselves, you must collect the information and send it to us, and then we will select a certain number of landlords in this and every other county, and we will call upon the tenantry on those estates to refuse to pay any more rents until those rents are permanently reduced (cheers), and we will stand by the tenantry in this struggle; we will help you with all the resources at our command, and there are millions of your countrymen and countrywomen in America who will help you also (cheers) and ("We have to

thank you for it") who will send you money to keep up this struggle as long as you bear yourselves like men (cheers)." Again, I say, do they not confess and glory in their guilt? Does any counsel for Mr. Parnell assert that these gentlemen do not mean what they say? Well, gentlemen, at Galway, on the 24th October, he made a remarkable speech, when he says—"That the people who are primarily responsible for the murder of Lord Mountmorres, if it was an agrarian crime, and of that I have very great doubt, are the House of Lords, who, by rejecting the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, took the arbitrament of this question from the courts of law, and placed it in the hands of the people; and the man who is secondarily responsible is this pretended humanitarian Chief Secretary of ours, buckshot Forster, who, when the House of Lords kicked out his bill, and smote him on one cheek, turned to them the other cheek to smite also. He foresaw then, and he publicly stated in the House of Commons, that he anticipated an increase of crime, outrage, and loss of life in Ireland, and yet in the face of that he deliberately refused to keep Parliament together, and to force through the House of Lords a measure which would prevent him from being made the instrument of landlord tyranny and injustice." I have already commented on that most remarkable speech. It is always to be read in conjunction with the pastoral of the Archbishop of Dublin to his clergy of the diocese, about the same time. I have already read the speech of Mr. Parnell, at Kilkenny on the 2nd October. Lord Mountmorres was murdered on the 26th September, and I find no reference to Lord Mountmorres's murder in that speech. The conclusion is, "And then when we have found out these bad landlords, and have reduced them to their knees, and when we have settled the question without any Act of Parliament as far as the bad landlords are concerned (cheers), we shall not find it any more difficult to reckon with the good landlords, whom my friend, Mr. Marum, is so anxious about (loud cheers)." The speech concludes with a sneer about the good landlords of Ireland. Well, gentlemen, what is called by counsel for the traversers, "wild talk" goes on at Tipperary on the 31st October. He introduces the subject of the police and military, and the attempt at enforcing the law by their aid. He says, "Agitation and organization have been confined to one or two or three particular counties or districts, and it has been possible for the Government to crush the agitation in detail, by crushing the counties in detail (hear, hear), and I confess it is not a very good sign to see the Government taking police from Tipperary and sending them into Mayo. (A voice, 'We will make them send them back again.')

The constabulary are used, not for the purpose of preserving law and order, but for the purpose of intimidating the people (hear, hear), and preventing them from organizing. And because Mayo is the best organized county in Ireland, the Government have sought to tyrannize over Mayo by taxing them for additional police; but if Tipperary and every other county in Ireland organise themselves as well as Mayo, they will not

be able to send 1,700 police into Mayo, they will not have them to send, and they will not be able to inflict an additional establishment upon any county in Ireland. They have only 11,000 police in this country, and that gives an average of about 300 men to each county. Well, you see, therefore, that if it requires 1,700 policemen to intimidate a well organized county, it will be an utter impossibility to intimidate all the counties in Ireland if they are organized, because it would require an increase of something like 55,000 or 60,000 policemen instead of only 10,000. I have gone into this little arithmetical calculation for you lest you might be afraid that if you organized yourselves in Tipperary the Government would attack you with extra police. Now this, as I have shown you, cannot be so, because when all Ireland is organized, it will be utterly impossible for them to get enough policemen in Ireland to intimidate the whole country. The two chief planks in our platform are, firstly, that the tenants shall not pay rack-rents, and secondly that no man shall take a farm from which a tenant has been evicted under such circumstances (cheers). Now, if you carry out these two principles, it will be utterly impossible for any Government, no matter how strong, to prevent the march of progress in Ireland; you must win. (Cheers.) It is a thing which must happen, and you must ultimately succeed if you simply stick to these doctrines, refusal to pay unjust rents, and refusal to take a holding from which your neighbour or anybody else has been evicted. Don't allow yourselves to be diverted by a discussion as to the best method of settling the land question. (Hear, hear.) Some gentleman, no doubt with the best intentions, have sought to introduce disunion amongst Irishmen by asking us to formulate our plan. Now we intend to formulate our plan when the time is ripe for the settlement of the land question. (Cheers.)" One of my learned friends on the other side interrupted me when I said that statements had been made at these meetings that the landlords had been got rid of in other countries in Europe. I shall read Mr. Parnell's opinion on that subject at the Limerick meeting held on the 1st November. He says "Let us then adopt a sensible land platform (hear, hear). Let us adopt a platform which will enable all classes in this country to benefit by it, the labourer as well as the tenant farmer (hear, hear); which will get rid of a system which has been tried and found wanting in every country in the world. They got rid of their landlords in France; they got rid of them in Prussia, and they got rid of them in Belgium. Why should not we get rid of them in Ireland? (Cheers). Are they worth the keeping?" At the time of the Revolution in France they got rid of many of them, but a great many came back again; and gentlemen, anyone who knows anything about the country, knows that although land is immensely sub-divided in France, and in the departments, as they were called, an immense peasant proprietary was kept up, yet everyone knows that landlordism existed largely in France, and that immense rents were derived from the land by noble families living happily on estates with a contented tenantry.

Well, really, gentlemen, the astounding ignorance displayed is something perfectly appalling, that such things could be said. His statements of course could not be contradicted by the poor people he was addressing in Limerick. He says they got rid of them in Prussia? If he knows anything about it, he is alluding to the land reforms introduced by the statesmen Stein and Hardenberg, which were not to get rid of the landlords, for in those splendid provinces along the Baltic they are there still, a landed nobility. And anyone who takes the trouble to look up the roll will find a great many Irish names amongst the landed gentry and nobility of Prussia. And also in the German provinces belonging to Russia, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, along the Baltic, they will find amongst the nobility and gentry such names as Lacy, Brown, Nugent, Reille. They live there amongst the German speaking nobility of those splendid provinces, living amongst a contented and happy tenantry. No doubt serfdom was got rid of by Stein and Hardenberg. The Emperor Alexander II., since 1860, got rid of the serfdom of Russia, and he by that act did more good almost than any living man in Europe or America. The two mighty events of this century are the emancipation of the slaves in America and the emancipation of the serfs in Russia. Why, gentlemen, the statements made at some of these meetings surpass everything in the way of audacious ignorance. "They got rid of them in Belgium." Does Mr. Parnell know anything of what he is talking about? Is he worth refuting? After saying the landlords were got rid of in Prussia, Belgium, and other countries, he then tells the ignorant mob of Limerick, with all the excitement of a great city aroused, and the respectable farmers of Clare, Limerick and Tipperary, who came in to listen to him addressing them about the land—appealing to their greedy passion of gain and to all that was bad in the Irish character, appealing to them not to pay their debts, and he says—"They got rid of their landlords in France; they got rid of them in Prussia, and they got rid of them in Belgium. Why should we not get rid of them in Ireland? Are they worth the keeping? (Loud cries of 'No.')

And he is cheered by the tenant farmers, to whose sordid passions he has thus appealed, and by the mob of Limerick. Gentlemen, he continues—"Has not their maintenance in this country rendered almost necessary, they tell us, the exile of hundreds of thousands of our people? ('Yes, it has.')

But our people are not to-day powerless as they were in 1848. An unexampled series of bad seasons, which in 1848 was used by the landlord class to exterminate the tenantry, now finds the tenantry banded together for the assertion and the pressing home of their rights (cheers). Do not then let us waste these enormous forces in trying to effect what is both an impossibility, and what, if obtained, would only perpetuate confusion and disunion between classes in this country. You have now an opportunity of getting rid of the landlord system, not, as my friend, Mr. Synan, says, after a generation or so, but very soon (cheers). I believe, that within two

years you will see part of the work which was done by the famine undone. I believe that you will see within that period the resumption by the State of the titles in the land, which it has granted, through the Landed Estates Court, to land jobbers (cheers); and do not let anybody for a moment suppose that these things are impossible, or are for such a remote future. They are very much nearer than many of us suppose, but the nearness and completeness of this settlement must depend entirely upon your own exertions, and what we ask you to do for this winter is to push down the rents, lower the rents (hear, hear), to combine amongst yourselves (A voice, 'They have us processed'). Why, if you are afraid of a process you had better go out of the country altogether, to combine amongst yourselves, and to offer the landlord a just rent, to bring the strong force of public opinion to bear upon any man who dares to take a farm, and in this way you have the power of settling the land question this winter in Ireland (cheers), and when you have done that, and not till then, the English Parliament will do it for you. (Loud applause.)" He then gives the illustration to which I referred, of France, and Prussia, and Belgium. He does not give the illustration of Russia, where the serfs were emancipated. Why, in every country where the serfs are emancipated and free they extend their labour and industry to every quarter of this fair earth which God has given us. We are to be rooted in the soil, and the phrase *adscripti glebæ*—bound to the soil—once the badge of serfdom, is, under the law of Mr. Parnell, to be the badge of the Irish people. In the early portion of the movement the three F's—fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rents—were sometimes referred to. At Waterford City, Mr. Parnell treats that with the most thorough contempt. He says—"I ask you then, in the face of these difficulties, what is the use of expecting a really satisfactory measure of land reform from the Parliament this session? (cries of 'No use.') No, you will be left at the end of the session as you were left at the end of last session, to depend upon your own determination and organization for yourselves (cheers, and a voice: 'We will cling to the Land League'). This is one of the chief reasons why I have always resisted what has been called the three F's. The three F's necessitate valued rents. Whether the results of a re-valuation would be fair to the tenant would depend entirely upon the basis of the re-valuation, and the tribunal which had to carry it out. And I ask you what is the use of expecting from Parliament, constituted as I have just shown you it is constituted, any basis of re-valuation which will not be enormously in favour of the landlord against the tenant ('hear, hear'). Let us take our stand upon our just rights ('hear, hear'). Don't let us ask for anything that is impracticable or impossible. Don't let us ask for anything which has not been sanctioned by the successful example of almost every other European country (hear, hear). And taking our stand upon our just rights of ownership of the land for the people of Ireland (cheers), let us leave to the enemy the

offer of compromise (hear, hear). Let the first offer of compromise come from them, for they are the beleaguered and isolated garrison, surrounded by their enemies; and I warn them that if they waste too much time, if they delay too long to settle with the enemy when he is in the gate, when he is still in the gate, the day will very soon come when they will find that their power of proposing or obtaining any compromise has been taken away from them (hear, hear), and they will bitterly lament that they have thrown away their opportunities when the people of Ireland were still willing to allow them to depart in peace, with such compensation for their interests as might seem to be fair (cheers)." Gentlemen, that is the last speech of Mr. Parnell's I will trouble you with. In every speech of his he boasts of being the leader of this conspiracy; convict him if you believe him, acquit him if you can. Gentleman, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar, after using those strong expressions, tried to unsay or qualify what they said. There is no mistake at all about the utterances of Mr. Dillon. He spoke openly and plainly. He and Mr. Parnell were together in America. Mr. Parnell returned first. Mr. Dillon, I believe, does not begin to speak until August. But on the 15th August, at Kildare, he spoke to a great meeting. He says—"First of all, the immediate object is to put a stop to rack-rents; every man in Kildare shall pay it no more. Secondly, we must insist that no man or woman shall be put out of his or her farm. No evictions shall be in Kildare. Third, no arrears of rent shall be levied in Kildare." There is a ukase! Did the worst tyrant in Russia ever utter such a phrase as that, "No arrears of rent shall be levied in Kildare." "The country is emerging out of a grave crisis, and there is no use in a good season if you will not be in a good position to take advantage for it. If you pay rent and arrears of rent this year then the good harvest will go to the landlords. Therefore this year there shall be no arrears of rent paid." God had granted the blessing of a good harvest, which came to disappoint these agitators. That blessing of a good harvest was turned, as it were, into a curse by insisting that in that good harvest which the blessing of God had sent, the landlords, who were to be exterminated, should have no share. "If the people desire to put down landlordism, the only road to this is to have an organization in the country, that every farmer shall belong to a branch of the Land League that exists throughout the country, that all the young men shall be prepared to march to the meetings, and in proper order too. And when we have that organization perfected, let the word go out that no farm from which any man has been evicted shall be touched or used until the rightful owner shall be put back again (cheers)." No suggestion there about just or unjust rents with which Mr. Biggar always cloaks that sentiment, "but let the word go out that no farm from which any man has been evicted shall be touched or used until the rightful owner shall be put back again." Then he tells what has occurred in Mayo, and exults in the destruction of property

and laying waste the lands of that great county. Then he says—
 “The conclusion that we come to to-day is that we resolve to adopt the principles of the Land League—‘The land for the people.’ I believe that what the Irish people want is to have the land their own. If any farmer prefers fixity of tenure, he can have it. But I claim that the people of Ireland shall have the right to make the land their own. The rights of the people are to be won by the exertions of the people themselves (cheers). We, your representatives, have good duties to perform in Parliament, and we cannot do those duties and get justice for Ireland unless you fight it out yourselves. We can paralyse the hands of the Government, we can prevent them passing coercive laws that would throw you into prison for organizing yourselves. We can tell you, the people, to drill yourselves and organize yourselves, and we can take it out of the power of the police to arrest every man found out after eight o’clock at night (cheers). We in Parliament can see that Irishmen have a right to be out after eight o’clock or all night if they like. We will see that they have a right to march to meetings and obey the commands of their leaders if they chose to do so. We shall see that every man in Ireland shall have a rifle if he likes (cheers). All I will say is that if the manhood of Ireland is not enough, when you have your rights, to win your freedom and put down landlordism, then I shall be ashamed to call myself an Irishman (cheers). Let the people of Kildare show during the coming autumn that neither dukes nor marquesses, nor any other lords, can terrorise you or intimidate the manhood of Ireland (great cheering).”
 The reference there is to the Duke of Leinster and Marquis of Drogheda. At Hollyford, county Tipperary, on the 17th Oct., Mr. Dillon again says—
 “I remember a short year ago, when this banner was first raised in my native county, the county of Mayo, in the town of Claremorris. That was where the cause was first started. I spoke at that meeting. It was not a very large one, and then we had every one nearly against us, and we were weak in numbers, and our cause looked weak; but now, to-day, fifteen meetings, each larger than this, are assembling in twelve Irish counties, and a hundred thousand Irishmen are to-day assembled on the plains of Ireland to declare that landlordism must go down in Ireland if you are a united and determined people (cheers). This is a cause which every Irishman can go into, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, whether he be a Nationalist or not. It is a cause which the Irish Nationalists can go into, because its object is to break down and defeat the English garrison which holds this country for England. Its object is to clear the path for Irish Nationality, by emancipating all the people of Ireland from the control of English landlordism, and settling them in their own homes as free men. It is a cause which Catholic and Protestant can go into side by side, and shoulder to shoulder, and although efforts have been made to raise a cry in the North—in Ulster—that the Orangemen of Ulster will oppose this movement, I have been invited to speak in the north of Ulster on

next Tuesday, and I have been promised that thirty thousand Ulster men will meet me on the field. I tell you that before three months are out you will see the Protestant farmer of Ulster stand shoulder to shoulder with the Catholic farmer of Tipperary, united in one league, whose motto will be, "Ireland for the Irish people, and down with landlordism (cheers)." And again he says, "If you organise as well as they have done in Connaught, you can carry out this programme, the Land Leaguers of Dublin will support you, but you must organise strictly. Remember that to-day you are only commencing the fight. Every townland must be canvassed carefully, and every farmer asked to join; and any man who breaks the rules of the Land League, and takes a farm from which a neighbour has been evicted, or who buys cattle or crops which have been seized for rent, or who has any dealings with a man who has taken a farm from which a neighbour has been evicted, that man you must not speak to, you must not buy from him, nor sell to him, nor have any dealings with him whatever, and before a month is out he will leave the country and the farm vacant. Now, how are you to set about organising? In each townland two men should agree to go round and ask every farmer to give his name for the Land League. Let them go with books, and let each farmer give his valuation and his rent; let those be brought all into a central committee, and submitted to them, and let them say where the rents are excessive, and in that townland order the members to pay no more than a certain sum for rent. When that order goes out any man that does not obey it is a traitor to the people, and a friend of the oppressors of the farmers, and do not you have any more dealings with him, and he will soon leave the country. By that means I tell you that you can reduce rents here in Tipperary, by your own unaided action; by that means you can put a stop to eviction, by that means you can make yourselves independent of the landlords, and until you have done that by your own action in Tipperary, I tell you that the English Parliament will give you no justice." He spoke in Clonmel on the 24th October. That was a great meeting. The Roman Catholic clergy were present, as was proved. Mr. Arthur Moore was present, and several other persons, in whose presence Mr. Dillon had to be more careful than usual. But he says-- "The great thing is you must multiply the branches of the League; start one in every parish. You must go on with this policy. If the Government prosecutes, you must show if the Irish people are a nation of cowards or a nation of men. The way to act if the Government prosecutes is this: if they prosecute your president or the secretary, put two other men in their places and go on with the work. By-and-by the jails will be full, and they will find it not so easy a task to put the whole of Ireland into jail (cheers). In fact, it is my impression, if they continue this policy, before long they will find the best thing to do is to put the landlords into jail." This was received, of course, with cheers, just in the way the celebrated Prime Minister went

into the war with a light heart. This was on the 24th October, Lord Mountmorres having been murdered on the 26th September. "Now, there is no necessity whatever for any nervousness on the point of crime. I am not aware the Irish people have been guilty of crime to any extent that justifies what has been said. I am aware that the London press are manufacturing deliberately in Dublin false crimes, which they are sending over by the column to London to raise a cry against our people (cheers.)" This, gentlemen, is a serious attack on the reporters who send the Irish telegrams to London. "But there is no necessity whatever for any nervousness on the point of crime." Have they not stained their cause by crime? Did he consider the murder of Lord Mountmorres no crime—the murder of an unfortunate nobleman no crime? "But I say, I refuse to denounce crime because I say the Irish people have not stained their cause by crime. The landlords need not get into a state of excitement, and imagine we are going to burn or pull their houses down as they have pulled the houses of the people down. (A voice: 'No.')

We do not propose to do any of those violent things, because we are the majority; we have the power on our side, and we are going to win. (A voice: 'We will do it.')

We do not need therefore to do anything which will justify their outrageous language, but we do need to show that the people this time are determined, and they will not be deluded either by Whig orators, or be told to trust to the Government which has nothing to give to the people but coercion and prosecution, but will trust to their own eyes and their hands. They will show the landlords and Government in spite of their teeth they will retain the lands of Tipperary, and will hold the lands of Tipperary, and when we have told them that lesson, for years to come you will find that the landlords of Tipperary will go not to the Castle to ask for coercion, but to Westminster, and say, 'For God's sake settle the land question.' Give them something, abolish landlordism, and let them be rid of their tenants."

That is a quiet speech, and, as I said before, the clergy and some members of Parliament were present—a very quiet speech. Even in reference to crime "he told them not to be nervous about it" he would not "denounce crime" because no crime had been committed. However, in Tipperary it was not necessary to speak with "bated breath and whispering humbleness" at all. "It was not till lately that Tipperary knew what landlordism was, and I am happy to say that it is not the first time that Tipperary rose in rebellion against landlordism. (cheers.) Many of you know that in the last century for three years this county was in open rebellion against landlordism, until they poured their troops into it and smothered the resistance of the people in blood, when they killed poor Father Sheehy at Clonmel. (Groans.) From that day to this the people of Tipperary have been either in open or in smothered rebellion against that institution, and to-day you have assembled, I suppose the largest meeting that ever gathered in Tipperary, to declare that we are now going to make a new departure, not to forget or to make terms with landlordism,

but to raise the banner again, and enrol every man in Tipperary, who is not a landlord or an agent, under the banner of 'Down with landlordism,' and the land of Ireland will be given back to the tenants." Then, speaking of men being put in prison, he says—"For every man that is put in do you knock off a certain per centage of the rent you are going to pay. With regard to the rent, I think that the time has come in Tipperary now when we ought, in the name of the National Land League, to proclaim all over this county, that for this year the people shall pay no more rent than Griffith's valuation—that they shall pay Griffith's valuation, and no more (cheers). I think that is about the fairest thing that we can come at. If the landlords do not like that, let them go over to London, and go down and make a petition to the London Parliament to settle the question. The people of Ireland have petitioned to that Parliament too often. The people of Ireland will not petition to an English Parliament again." Well, that advice, I believe, has been followed.

Mr. *Curran*.—The Dean of Cashel was in the chair at that meeting.

Sergeant *Heron*.—The Dean of Cashel!—Yes, yes.

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—Did the Dean of Cashel remonstrate against the use of that language?

Sergeant *Heron*.—Gentlemen of the jury, I referred to a very important meeting at Limerick. These meetings are held in what I will call great centres of wealth and industry. Clonmel is a fine town. Everyone familiar with business knows that Ireland is not such a starving place all over as these persons are perpetually asserting. My learned and able friend, Mr. Macdonogh, referred to the Parliamentary returns in a general way about the agricultural distress in the country. These things, as was observed from the Bench, are all perfectly well known, and collected in that able collection of statistics, Thom's Directory—they are perfectly well known to every one. But almost a few pages on in the same returns about Ireland, if my learned friend looks, he will find by the Probate returns that the value of property in Ireland increased from £90,000,000 from 1845–1850 to £250,000,000 in 1870. He will find that these oppressed tenant farmers, out of thirty-two millions on deposit receipts in the Banks and the Savings and Post Office banks in Ireland, have twenty millions, and we in Ireland are paying income tax on £35,000,000.

Mr. *Sullivan*.—There's no such column in the statistics for the tenant farmers of Ireland.

Sergeant *Heron*.—Does he say that the tenant farmers of Ireland have nothing in the banks?

Mr. *Sullivan*.—I said nothing of the kind. I said there was no such column for the farmers.

Sergeant *Heron*.—Then I ask my learned friend to state—

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—You have no right to put a question to counsel, sergeant.

Sergeant *Heron*.—No, my lord, but the tenant farmers have twenty millions of money in—

Mr. *Macdonogh*.—I must take the liberty of interposing, and I am sorry to have to do it.

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—We have no evidence before us for that statement, sergeant.

Mr. *Macdonogh*.—He has no right, my lord, at the close of the case, to state these figures, unless he does me the favour of permitting me to reply to him.

Mr. Justice FITZGERALD.—You have no right to address the court, Mr. *Macdonogh*.

Mr. *Macdonogh*.—Very well.

Sergeant *Heron*.—My learned friends will not permit me to say we are paying income tax on £35,000,000. This is the old system of comparing Ireland to the starved apothecary. It is exploded. However, I may refer to Mr. Dillon in Tipperary—Clonmel, a prosperous town; and Limerick, although not so prosperous as it ought to be, still a great centre of wealth and industry. “Let me tell you that the National Land League of Ireland does not propose only to prevent the landlords raising the rents, but it proposes to teach the landlords of Ireland that the day has gone by when they are to fix the rents of Ireland.” There is a new claim coming in—the landlord is never to raise his rent. “Let me tell you that the National Land League of Ireland does not propose only to prevent the landlords raising the rents, but it proposes to teach the landlords of Ireland that the day has gone by when they are to fix the rents of Ireland (cheers), that until they come to a just settlement of this question, the Land Leagues, the farmers of Ireland, shall fix the rent at a fair value, and pay no more than what is fair. We propose to bring down the rents of Ireland to what will be a fair value. We propose to take back from the landlords what they robbed from the people in the days of their power. We propose to settle the Irish land question by showing (a voice, ‘American principles,’) the Irish landlords that we, the people of Ireland, have the power, without appealing to Parliament at all, to dictate to them what rents we shall pay, and to pay no more. Now I want to ask the people of Limerick are they going to submit to tyranny while Tipperary, and Clare, and Kerry, and Cork, have raised the banner of revolt against it? (‘No, no.’) If you are not going to submit, show you are men, and let there be before Christmas, before three weeks, a branch of the Land League in every parish of the County of Limerick (cheers). Go over the rent-roll on every estate in Limerick, and when the next gale day comes, have agreed amongst yourselves what you are going to pay. In Tipperary they have pledged themselves to pay no more than Griffith’s valuation. I think you would do well to take the same pledge in Limerick. (‘We will.’) When you have taken it, stand to it like men, and stand to each other, and if any man goes back on his neighbour, then let him be an outcast in Limerick (cheers). Now is the time for every county

to organize and pull together in this cause. Do not allow the Government to beat down Mayo or Galway while Limerick is quiet. They will come to you afterwards when they have defeated Mayo. When they attack them in the rear, show them that they will require as much trouble to levy rackrents in Limerick as to levy them in Galway. Keep the police if necessary, marching from one end of Limerick to the other, as they have got to march from one end of Mayo to the other, and before a year is out, you will bring things to such a pass that it will take, not 11,000, but 50,000 police to levy rackrents in Ireland. When you have brought about such a condition of things that 50,000 police will not levy rackrents, then the Irish land question will be settled, and the landlords will come to reasonable terms without any more pressure. I will only say, in conclusion, that if you do not play the part of men now, do not ever complain again of bad laws, because if you allow rackrents to be levied in Limerick this year, all I can say is to the landlords of Limerick : ‘ Rackrent the tenantry of Limerick to your heart’s content.’ ”

In Killaloe Mr. Dillon addresses a great meeting, held on the Clare side, of the farmers of Clare and of Tipperary. What does he say? Here is the speech.—“ Let the manhood of Ireland rise to-day, and resolve that we will bring the Irish Landlords on their knees before that door. (Cheers, ‘ Never to rise again.’) Let us resolve that the tenantry of Ireland will never again ask for justice at the hands of English ministers or of the English House of Commons, but that by their action in Ireland they will drive the Irish landlords over to London to beg for protection and for justice. (Cheers.) Let me tell you that you can do all this. It only requires you to play the part of men, to follow the doctrines of the Land League, and you will teach the Irish landlord that not he, but the Land League, will settle the rents (cheers) ; and you will teach the Irish landlord that he will not evict one man out of his home until the Land League has given him leave. (Cheers.) The English Parliament has been always the friend of the Irish landlords. Let them go to their old friends now and ask—(interruption.) I say here to-day, in the name of the tenantry of Ireland, that it has come now to that pass that we do not care about legislation.”

So it has come to that pass, they don’t care about legislation. Five or six of my learned friends, one after another, spoke about constitutional agitation. Constitutional agitation! Mr. Dillon boldly says, “ Things have come to that pass that we do not care about legislation.” Does he mean what he said? “ All we want is what was said fifty years ago by a Tipperary priest, Father Davoran, when he wrote to Daniel O’Connell, and said in the Tithe War, ‘ The Irish farmers do not want protection ; they do not want legislation in an English Parliament ; all they want is a fair field and no favour, and to leave them face to face with the tyrant.’ ” This is constitutional agitation. That is a quotation said to be by Father Davoran. Then Mr. Dillon goes on :—“ All that the tenantry of Ireland want now is a fair field and no favour, and to leave them face to face with the landlords, and we will give

a very good account of the landlords and of the rackrenters in Ireland." Now do you see the meaning of Archbishop M'Cabe's pastoral. "Let me say, then, that the man who comes to you now, and tells you to trust to any British minister, or tells you to trust to the present Government because they have promised well, is an enemy, and do not take his advice. Follow the Land League, which has shown its power by protecting the farmer of Ireland; follow the Land League, which has already forced, to my own knowledge, seven men in Ireland to resign farms which they had taken over their neighbours' heads. In the town of Midleton, in the county of Cork, there was a man evicted and his neighbour took the farm. He had gone behind his back and bribed the agent; and I sent down there last week, at the request of the Land League, to the town of Midleton, that I would hold a meeting there on Tuesday next, and request him to give up the farm; and on Friday last the Land League got a letter saying he begged to state he would resign the farm.

Well, then, the task that is before you is this: Pledge every man who is here, and every man in the two counties—that is Clare and Tipperary—not to pay one farthing over Griffith's valuation (cheers); and if any man—let every parish in the two counties have its Land League, let every man be enrolled in that Land League, and do not wait for them to come in, but send young men round to ask every farmer—having a list of every farmer—to ask him will he come in or will he not? And then you will know who are the friends of the people, and who are their enemies—(interruption), and then let each parish resolve for itself what they will pay. Let them hold a meeting of the executive, let them consider the case, and let them resolve what they will pay. You must alter the resolution according to circumstances. If you have got to deal with a very bad rack-renter who has raised his rents more than double the valuation, you ought not to pay him a single farthing this year. If he is a more moderate man, come down to the valuation; but you must suit the resolution to the circumstances of each locality. When you have come to that resolution, then the man who goes back on the organization—who goes behind backs and pays, while he stands pledged to his neighbours to stand by them—you must treat him as what he is; that is to say, a traitor to his people and to his country. You must make an outlaw of him, and let no honest man speak to him, or have anything to say to him." At Thurles he spoke on the 14th November.—"If we are struck at and imprisoned, whom ought we to hold responsible for that imprisonment? We ought to hold responsible the landlords of Ireland who have urged upon the Government this insane course of coercion. And what will be our plain duty? Our plain duty will be, and our policy, to inflict a punishment upon the landlords of Ireland, which will make them repent of their course. We shall issue orders, the executive of the Land League will issue orders to the people, probably, if this course is determined upon, to strike some counter-

blow at the landlords, and I trust and hope that the people will be prepared to obey (cheers). We will advise you to do nothing unwise ; we will advise you to do nothing unpractical ; but we will advise you to do something that will very quickly bring the landlords to reason, and make them more anxious to let us out than to keep us in." And he says, "I think that, when the country is thoroughly well organized, it will be a very serious question for the branches whether they ought not to come to a resolution not to allow any member of the League to deal with any trader who will not join the League." At Ballaghadereen, on the following Sunday, he says, "We have seen the hand of the evictor stopped, and we have seen cases where processes of eviction have been issued, we have seen the execution of those processes, those eviction decrees, delayed in fear of the Land League and of its followers (cheers). And furthermore, we have not alone stopped the hands of the evictor, but we have undone his work. In seven or eight cases we have taken away from the land grabber the prey which he took from the unfortunate victim of the evictor. ('Down with the land grabber.') Seven farms have been handed back to the Land League at our request, and it is but a short three weeks ago since in the county of Cork a man who had taken a farm from which his neighbour had been evicted, at my request gave it back into the hands of the Land League of that district."

. . . . "Let the tenantry on each estate gather together, or let them elect representatives where the estate is very large, and let them come together and make an agreement of what they are able to afford to pay this year, or what is fair for them to pay, and that will differ according to the different circumstances of the case. When they have made that agreement, let them pledge themselves to each other that no man will go behind his neighbour and break away from the agreement. Let them, then, go in as a body and offer to the landlord or to the agent the rent on which they have agreed, and tell him that they require for that sum a full and clear receipt for the year's rent (cheers). If he refuses to give that full and clear receipt, take home the money and pay nothing, and wait until he becomes more reasonable. Well, now, the man who goes back on his neighbours and who breaks away from the engagement and pays his rent, all you have got to do is to turn the cold shoulder to him, and have no communication with him. The question then arises as to what the landlord will do, or the agent, when this offer is made to him. He may serve you with notice of eviction, and if he does you must then put down your foot and have it out with him. You must hold the rent, and keep that for you own use. If he serves you with a notice of eviction come into the Land League here, submit your case ; send up the notices to Dublin ; we will take them up and defend them, and we will back you up in this struggle (cheers.) But do not you see—you see the advantage of holding on by the rent, because if any man should be evicted he would want some means to support him until he gets back to his farm, because you must remember, and you must be prepared to run some risk, and, if necessary even to submit to eviction. If

you are evicted, as sure as there is a sun above you to-day you will be back again before the year is out. Mayo has taught a lesson to the rest of Ireland in the policy of the Land League, and the word 'Boycott' has gone all over the country (cheers.) Now, what we propose to do is, every evicted farm—we will Boycott the farm, and it will require an English army, such as that which has come down to Lough Mask, to hold any farm from which a Mayo man has been evicted. So long as they keep the army on the farm, well, we will support the tenant who has been evicted somewhere in the neighbourhood, and as soon as the army evacuates he can go back to his own home (cheers). Now, I wish to say a word as regards the amount of rent that ought to be paid. This is a question which we must leave to each branch to decide for itself; but if high rents have been charged for the past years, where the people have been rack-rented for some years past, they ought to pay nothing at all this year. Where the rents have been more moderate, I think that, where they are able to afford it, they ought to pay Griffith's valuation. We leave that to the executive of each branch to decide according to the circumstances of the tenant. Well, now, I would ask you to compare the condition of the Irish farmer of to-day with what it was two years ago, and, when you have made that comparison, let every man who does not like to be a slave take his stand by the Land League, and determine to remain a member of it. What were you two years ago? Is it not true that the agent and the bailiff exercised a terror over every farmer on an estate? Is it not true to-day that you are no more afraid of the agent or the bailiff than I am (cheers). Is it not true to-day that the agent and the bailiff are a great deal more afraid of you than you are of them?" That is perfectly true, and said with exultation by Mr. Dillon. Is it not true to-day that the agent and the bailiff are a great deal more afraid of you than you are of them. Many an agent, many a bailiff throughout the counties of Ireland are, as is their boast, quivering in fear of the Land League. "And I ask you what is it that has done all this for you? What is it that has made you freemen to-day instead of slaves. What is it that has made, as I said, the agent and the bailiff civil and very much obliged for whatever you will give them? It is the policy and the action of the National Land League. It has taught you how to emancipate yourselves without having recourse to the tender mercies of the English Parliament. You were told before that your only hope was in the Parliament of London, but we told you that your hope was in your own manhood. For thirty years you knelt at the door of England's Parliament, and you got no redress; for thirty years you crouched, or you were afraid, before the agent's office or the bailiff of the estate. But we told you to band yourselves together, and to stand on your own rights and your own manhood; and where are you to-day. You are in a position not to beg for reduction of rents, not to ask for favours from landlords or agents; you are in a position to determine what your rights are, and when you have made up your minds, to stand on them,

and to insist on them. Then, if ever again the landlord or the agent tramples upon the tenantry of Ireland, it will be their own fault and their own cowardice. You are free men to-day ; before you leave this meeting, resolve that you never will be trampled on again, unless it be over your dead bodies (loud cheers). But remember also that your freedom can only be kept by the strictest organization, by the courage, by the determination, if the hour should come, that you will stand to your rights as men (cheers). We confidently expect that this struggle will go on to the end without bloodshed, without violence, and without danger ; but shame on the Irishman who would be afraid, if the necessity arose, and if the risk came, to take his stand by his own threshold, and defend it at the cost of his life-blood. Let it go forth now that the Irish nation, having once ascertained their power and their rights, will never again submit to be trampled on, unless their life-blood has been spilt at first on their own threshold." That was at Ballaghaderreen, in the county of Mayo, a county with which Mr. Dillon is peculiarly connected. In Fethard, after saying that the house of every landlord in Ireland will be built over a volcano, and he cannot tell the hour when that volcano may burst and sweep him, and all that belong to him, to a far worse fate than that which the National Land League dealt out to him—he says, in conclusion—" I would like to say in conclusion that I think that the interest of this movement, particularly, as regards the good name of the Irish race in foreign countries would be best served by the people maintaining a strictly defensive policy"—and then, referring to Mr. Boycott, again he says, never a man could be touched, for never a hair of his head was hurt. Mr. Boyton speaks at the same meeting, at Fethard. Gentlemen, I am happy to say the last of the speeches I shall refer to is the speech of Mr. Dillon, at Templederry. Speaking there with all the influence that the position of member for the county could give him, after an account of the great exertions he had made in spreading the principles of the Land League, referring to Boycotting and referring to Ulster, he finally makes this promise to the people—" But, as I said before, let the representatives upon each townland under the League come together. Let them as honest men discuss their circumstances, and the condition of the country. Let them talk the matter over. Let them decide what they will do ; what they can fairly do ; what it would be just to do. Let them then resolve and pledge themselves to stand together and the Land League will support them in the course they determine upon. We leave it to the men who know the soil best, to the men who have lived upon it, who have laboured on it, and who have brought up to their families out of it ; they know what the soil is honestly worth, and they know what they ought to pay ; let them decide, and we will support them in their decision. But what the Land League has proved is this, that the day has gone by in Ireland when the landlord can settle the rent by his own free will and whim. The day is gone by when the landlord class have all the power in settling the rent. The day has come in when the people of Ireland are to settle

the rents. The day is at hand when rent will cease in Ireland for ever." No doubt, if he were successful, rent would cease in Ireland for ever. And that is the wild political scheme which is proposed to the people of Ireland in order to succeed in this conspiracy. Gentlemen of the jury, I am happy to say that my task is nearly concluded. I have tried in addressing you to speak strictly to the evidence in the case. I have tried to perform that duty. As regards the fourteen defendants, I have endeavoured to speak to you, to use a technical expression, "within the four corners of the record." And if I have said as regards any person outside the record—not defendants, but associated in some respects with them—if I have said an unfair or unjust word to those persons, I now apologise. I have had to do my duty which is at all times for the Crown in Ireland a painful and a difficult duty, peculiarly so at the present time, when of course there is some distress in our land, still distress which all regret, and which the humane and the charitable do their best to relieve. But, gentlemen of the jury, as regards this conspiracy I look on it as almost, almost I will say, at an end as regards success. The attempt to succeed must be put down. They have boasted that they have lowered the rents of Ireland. They have boasted that they have succeeded in stopping evictions in Ireland and that they have prevented for ever that free competition, that inexorable law which regulates the price of every single thing belonging to the earth. They have boasted of these things, but, as regards Parliamentary success or constitutional agitation, I think the political rocket, having gone almost out of sight,—the political rocket of Parnell and his party has gone up as high as ever it will go, and the laws of political gravitation are inexorable. As regards the legal aspect of this case, the prosecution is conducted solely as it were against the strike against rents and all the circumstances of the conspiracy in that respect. But, of course, it cannot be disguised that in this movement the able organizers have sought to engage many other feelings—have sought to engage the clergy of the country belonging to one great denomination in it, and, as I proved to you yesterday, at the meetings where they did not attend, used language of them that we shall not now advert to. They have also sought to include in that movement, and they appealed in that movement to the national sentiment of the country, and at all the meetings where the clergy, no doubt, in numbers attended, wherever any spoke of crime they denounced it—every one—they appealed, I say, not only to the religious element, but to the national element, which is so strong and dear to the heart of the Irish people. And the national emblems were used at the meetings, and the national feelings strongly appealed to. Let no man sneer at nationality—at the nationality implanted in the breasts of the Irish people. They have suffered for it and they still have the feeling of faith and fatherland, and the symbols of nationality are dear to them as they are dear to every nation in the world. The majesty of Harry the King—the greatest king England ever produced—did not disdain to wear the leek at Agincourt or on St. David's day in memory

of our gallant cousins, the Welshmen, having in the previous century aided to win the great victory, wearing the leek at Poitiers. Who cannot sympathise with Burns—

“ The rough burr thistle spreading wide,
 Among the bearded bere :
 I turned the weedin clips aside,
 And spared the symbol dear.”

And no country in Europe has a nobler national emblem than Ireland—the shamrock which St. Patrick consecrated to faith and fatherland upon the Hill of Tara and the Rock of Cashel. This noble sentiment has been appealed to, and no one can blame any persons enlisting in the cause they advocate the strongest feelings which can unite a people to their faith and to their country. But, gentlemen of the jury, there is plainly in Ireland what I would call a small Ireland of discontent. I use no harsher words. There is great poverty in our country, happily from year to year and season to season diminishing in intensity. But I will also say there is a greater Ireland, to which the greater number of the Irish race belong, and which is not identified with the small Ireland of discontent. There is a greater Ireland which flourishes wherever the English language is spoken, or English law prevails. Our prosperity is indissolubly connected with the prosperity of England. Our industry is connected with the industry of England. We have had mentioned in this trial the poor harvestman, and his going to the East of England. Thousands of our countrymen every year go to Eastern England, and cut the rich harvests which now wave over the old fens and morasses once the haunts of outlaws. And our countrymen bring home hundreds of thousands of pounds every year, the wages of industry, to many a happy Irish home. Our honest Irish workers take their place as working men, the heart of the people, the marrow and the nerve of human power. There is the greater Ireland, not the small Ireland of discontent. In the great mining districts of England how many a happy Irish home there is. In those wild districts where once there was no light at night but the beacons from the crags calling to civil war, there is now the roar of mighty furnaces, which, giving lustre and brilliancy to the midnight of entire counties, guarantee food and happiness to thousands, and light the path of the toiler to many a happy Irish home. We used to speak of the hum of industry. Now on the banks of the Clyde and the Mersey, the roar of the hammer and the steam engine louder than the thunder of old battles, guarantees food and happiness to millions—food and happiness to many a happy Irish home. And are we to be rooted to the soil, confined here, surrounded by a political wall of brass, whilst the language of Edmund Burke, and Robert Burns, and Shakespeare, and Milton is spoken in every clime, in every place to which Irish and English genius, industry, and enterprise can force their way? There is the greater Ireland, the true Ireland. Our commerce traverses the great circles of the ocean. On the great oceans of the world the Union Flag of our country and the Starry Flag of

Liberation—the flag of America—salute one another—on every sea. There is no nobler symbol of nationality than the American flag—

“ When freedom from her dazzling height
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there.’

Long may these two flags reign on every ocean the symbols of liberty and peace. May they never be arrayed against each other by sea or land, by flood or field, and cursed be the traitor who would seek to embroil in civil war our brethren in America and our brethren in England. Gentlemen of the jury, in scenes such as these is the true Ireland the greater Ireland. Turn to our colonies and dependencies. Our colonies and our dependencies are vast continents. And from Canada to China Irish diplomacy and Irish eloquence rule—equally under the mighty Constellation of the North or the splendour of the Southern Cross. Irish diplomacy and eloquence rule in those splendid young nations, in which are thousands and millions of happy Irish men and happy Irish women—there is the greater Ireland, —Irish diplomacy and eloquence and just government guaranteeing peace and prosperity to thousands of happy Irish homes. There is the true, the greater Ireland. Are we to be rooted to the soil while the Queen’s Irish regiments march to death with military glee in every clime in the world, and are we to be excluded from the greatness and glory of our empire, while Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Frederick Roberts—Irishmen, gallant Irishmen—are rivalling the glory of Lord Gough and the Duke of Wellington? And what Irish heart does not thrill with rapture at their genius and glory, except those included in the small Ireland of discontent? Gentlemen of the jury, I have alluded to the national emblems being used, trying to engage the national sentiment at these meetings, on the banners and in the processions. And the national melodies were employed also for the same purpose. But with the Queen’s army, the national melodies of Ireland, instead of being isolated in Innishowen and Connemara, have become part of the history of the world, and have been the quicksteps of the decisive battles of the world. As the morning sun flashes from the bayonets of the Irish soldiers of the Queen at the forts, posts, and garrisons of our empire, it circles the world with one beam of morning light. As the morning drum beats at the forts, the posts, and the garrisons of our empire, the national music of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, follows the sun and keeps company with the hours, and forms one continued strain of melody, recalling the stirring memories of a thousand years of victory and of liberty. From this career of glory and of independence are we to be kept back and rooted in the soil? Gentlemen of the jury, that shall never be. We form a portion of a great and free empire, a mighty state, the work of a thousand years, of watchful senates, of

sages, and of heroes. In the building up of that vast empire Irishmen have held no undistinguished part, and are we to abandon our share in our inheritance? We are a united empire—"United we stand; divided we fall." Gentlemen, when this trial commenced, in every church, in every cathedral in Europe, save one, the voices, the holy voices of children were singing the Christmas anthem, "Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth, good will to men." That anthem is as acceptable to the Almighty said by the humble shepherd or herd on the mountain, as sung by the voices of priests in the gilded cathedrals. May I be permitted to express a hope that all will join in the anthem—Glory to God in the highest peace in Ireland, to all men good will (applause).

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